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FINLAND TO-DAY

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HELSINGFORS, THE CAPITAL OF FINLAND

FINLAND TO-DAY

BY

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PEEPS AT "AUSTRALIA," "BRITISH EMPIRE," "OCEANIA."



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PREFACE

THE Finns—what is the key to an understanding of this race, with so much stubborn courage and yet so much cautious prudence ; so fertile in imagination and yet with such a gift for methodical organization ; so strong in race pride and yet able to come from out a long period of subjection to a foreign Power with no painful record of revolts and martyrdoms ?

I have sought that key by a visit to their country and by a study of their history and their art and literature, and can offer to my readers perhaps some clues, certainly not a clear explanation, of a people who remain still to me enigmatic. How can one explain a people who suggest at one time the Japanese, at another the Irish, at another the Scots, at another the Americans, at another the citizens of one of the little states of ancient Greece ? Certainly they cannot be classified. They are of their own genus.

It will be worth while for students of mankind to keep an eye on these Finns (not four millions in number if one leaves out of the count emigrants) who have already made a small mark in the world and who are destined to make a much greater mark. Fate has placed them athwart Russia, whose development from Bolshevism will give the

chief interest to the future history of the twentieth century; and this outpost position will keep Finland prominent on the world's stage. By character they are eager to try out all those problems of post-war civilization which have to do with the reconciliation of democracy with authority, of capitalism with the rights of labour, of art with mechanical industry, of woman's claim to civic equality with the institution of the family. Both in issues of foreign politics and of social politics, therefore, the world is likely to hear a great deal of Finland in the future.

But I wish to emphasize that this book does not pretend to offer more than a traveller's impressions of the Finns and Finland. Statements in it of historical or economic fact are, to the best of my knowledge, accurate. The rest—criticisms, opinions, surmises—are those of an observer who does not speak the Finnish tongue and had to rely much upon interpreters and Finns who spoke English. Fortunately English is very generally spoken by educated Finns; with others, interpreters helped. To know what "the others"—*i.e.* the people of merely elementary education—thought was, to my mind, essential.

On which point, a memory from another land. I was seeking once to know what the Arabs in a Near East territory were thinking and saying on a certain subject. An excellent interpreter helped

me to get the views of many notables—priests, merchants, officials, journalists. But he made a meek protest when I sought his aid to get bazaar gossip at first hand. It was in the days before Angora had made the wearing of a bowler hat a test of sound nationalism, and every good Moslem wore the fez. The fez, like the silk hat which used to be a badge of British respectability, needs frequent ironing to keep it shaped and comely. The little shops where the fez is ironed are the great gossip centres of the East. My interpreter objected to my plan of haunting these places whilst he translated to me what was said.

“These people are of no importance at all,” he pleaded. “They will say nothing valuable.”

Nevertheless we listened to the gossip, and there *were* good gleanings: valuable evidence to check and to explain the statements of more responsible people.

In Finland, as elsewhere, I have sought to get some knowledge from the talk of the common people. They may know less, but their talk among themselves is frank talk.

Some of the matter in this book has been published in “The Nineteenth Century and After,” “The National Review,” and “Blue Peter.” The courtesy of their Editors in assenting to republication is acknowledged.

THE AUTHOR.

NOTE

IN the text the titles of most places in Finland have been given in the Swedish and not the Finnish forms, since the Swedish forms are as yet best known to the English-speaking public. In the map, however, which is printed in this volume, both the Finnish and the Swedish forms are given in most cases.

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FINLAND TO-DAY

CHAPTER I

WHERE THE FINNS COME FROM

THE Finn, who has established an international reputation in ethnological and philological research, is naturally intensely interested in his own origins, but a little nervous lest investigation should prove that he was once an Asiatic. Lately, since the Japanese have shown that an Asiatic people can hold its own with the European Powers, this nervousness tends to die away. That it ever existed gives a hint of the degree of self-consciousness in Finland's people. They have an intense national pride, and it is so much justified by achievement that they really have no particular cause to worry as to whether their remote ancestors were people who would be received as equals in the best European and American circles to-day. Whether these remote ancestors were Europeans, Asiatics, or negroes should matter nothing to them, since to-day they are of the highest Western European type. Yet it does—a little ; and it seems to affect slightly some Finnish investigations into

national origins. The nervousness, as I have said, is passing, and should altogether pass. Is there not the comforting tradition that we are all descended from Adam?

When the ice-sheet of the Ice Age had passed from Finland, some inhabitants, nomadic hunters and fishermen, drifted in from East and West. The oldest archæological finds are of the Neolithic Age (about 4,000 years B.C.). The ancient inhabitants, coming partly from Scandinavia, partly from Russia, partly from Germany, probably encountered Arctic tribes coming into Finland from the North and mingled with them. It was not until about the fourth century of the Christian era that there can be traced a definite migration of Finns into Finland. The original home of the Finn people seems to have been the basin of the Volga, from which came also the Hungarians and the Bulgars. Whether those Finns were a primitive people, affiliated with the Indo-European races, driven out of their territories by the pressure of Tartar invaders, or whether they were racially akin with the Tartars, is a moot point which may be left to the ethnologists to decide one day. (The Bulgars were almost certainly of Tartar origin.)

The Finns moved up towards the Baltic through Russia, and little groups of racially akin people are still scattered about that country. These Finnish

WHERE THE FINNS COME FROM 3

tribes, thus left on the way, took a notable part in the first origins of the Russian Empire, which was founded in 862 at Novgorod by Rurik, with the co-operation of Slav and Finn tribes. But in the succeeding years Slav influence grew and Finn influence dwindled around Novgorod. By the time when Moscow began to rival that city as the centre of the Russian Empire, the Finns had no longer any share in the rule of Russia.

On their way to the Finland peninsula, the Finns came into touch with the Balts (forefathers of the present Lithuanians and Lettonians) and with the Teutons. They entered the peninsula of Finland as colonists rather than invaders, making a slow conquest of uninhabited land. Tribe after tribe moved across the Bay of Finland and across the Isthmus of Carelia. Probably they encountered a very small and mostly nomadic population, partly of Lapp hunters, partly of Scandinavians, Teutons, Slav settlers. The presumption is that the standard of culture of the newcomers at that time was not much higher than of the people whom they found in Finland, and that they mingled on friendly terms with these earlier inhabitants. The Scandinavians, who were in the minority, when the Finns filled the country accepted their language. Thus Finland became the home of chiefly Finnish-speaking inhabitants. To seek an analogy with Great

Britain, the coming of the Finns to Finland was somewhat akin to the coming of the Anglo-Saxons to Britain. Almost certainly, after settling in its new home, the Finn type was modified. It is mostly a matter of conjecture, but allowing that the Finno-Ugrian type of the Volga had common characteristics, it is reasonable to conclude that one branch wandered south, mixed with southern races and made the Hungarians; the other branch wandered north, mixed with Scandinavians and Teutons and made the Finns.

From the fourth to the ninth centuries of the Christian era the Finn people was in the making, from the above elements chiefly; then, in what is known as the Viking Age, came a large migration of the Swedes to the Finnish peninsula. To make again a convenient analogy with Great Britain, Finland before the ninth century was like England before the Norman Conquest, and the Swedish Vikings are comparable to the Normans. Of course, just as the condition of Finland before the coming of the Finns was much more primitive than that of Romanized Britain, the Finland that the Swedish invaders encountered was far more backward than Anglo-Saxon England; but the analogy is near enough to be helpful. As the brewing of the blood of Briton, Anglo-Saxon, and Norman made the English people, the mixture of primitive

inhabitants, immigrating Finns, and Swedish invaders made the Finnish people.

The Swedish colonies were established on the coast chiefly. Judging from the names of places, the greatest part of the shore districts of Finland was occupied by these Swedes. They seem to have had no serious warfare with the older inhabitants.

With the twelfth century another element, that of religion, came into the field. Before this the Finns had a pantheistic religion, the nature of which is indicated in the great national epic, the *Kalevala*. They worshipped the dead and the spirits of nature. The worship of the dead was the more important. But all nature was held divine: trees and inanimate objects had souls. Home life must be peaceful and harmonious, otherwise the spirit of the house might grow angry and leave and life would become miserable. Inanimate objects were thought to need food. Thus the sickle was fed after the harvest with the words: "Sickle, take strength! The whole summer hast thou worked; take strength! We have given thee thy share, do not touch our share." It was consistent to hold that objects also died. The living broke the things which they put into the graves of their dead in order that the spirits of those objects might also be freed from the body.

The dead were supplied with food and other

necessaries. The dead members of a family passed their days much in the same manner as they had done on earth. They could be either helpful or burdensome to their surviving relations. One therefore tried to treat them well, and held feasts to their memory at stated times. Persons who had been powerful in their lives—heroes or princes—were honoured after death by a whole tribe or district. Each family worshipped, in addition, its own forefathers.

Some find in these religious customs of the early Finns proof of Asiatic origin, and certainly ancestor worship and the provision of food for the dead are marked characteristics of Mongolian religion to-day. But such proof is not very convincing: most primitive religions, whether of Europe, Asia, Africa, or America, had these customs.

With the coming of Christianity to Sweden, the Swedish "Crusades" to Finland began. A link with England was thus forged, for the leader of the first crusade was the English Bishop Henry, who was canonized as the first saint of the Finnish Church. With this era of the Crusades came the definite subjection of the Finns to Sweden. The Finnish tribes were baptized. Powerful bishops—English, Swedish, and, later, Finnish—reigned at the capital, Abo. Most of them had studied

Tavast, a Finn, was for a time rector of the University. Culture was confined to the Church and to the military nobility. At one time it was suggested that Finland should become a direct fief of the Papacy, a northern Papal State, independent of Sweden. In that suggestion can be seen proof that, from the earliest date of the Swedish ascendancy, there was a hint of Finnish independence. Just as the Norman knights and bishops in England tended to become English, the Swedish overlords in Finland tended to become Finnish.

In the recurring wars between Sweden and her neighbour, Russia, the Finns did valiant service to Sweden. This was recognized in 1581 by King John III. of Sweden, when he constituted Finland a Grand Duchy with the armorial bearings which she still displays on her banner. As a nation, Finland really dates from then, though she was to wait nearly four centuries for full independence free from any suzerainty.

CHAPTER II

FINLAND, A GRAND DUCHY

FINLAND was thus, by the sixteenth century, in the position of having won to some degree of national independence. But her new dignity carried with it responsibilities. Wars between the growing Empire of Russia and the ambitious Kings of Sweden were almost continuous, and Finland, from its position, was the cockpit of these wars.

At first the power of Sweden was greater than that of Russia. Early in the seventeenth century, Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden forced Russia, by the peace of Stolbova, to acknowledge as the territory of the Grand Duchy of Finland an area which is almost exactly that of Finland of to-day, except that there was not included the Petsamo district. In later treaties the Swedish power wrested from Russia further territorial concessions.

Finland gave consistently faithful service to her suzerain power, and on her side Sweden showed a generous appreciation of Finnish loyalty. From a Finnish national point of view the only grievance that could be advanced regarding this era of her history is that the Swedish language wholly sup-

planted the Finnish among the educated and administrative classes. This grievance began to rankle when more peaceful times came.

In the eighteenth century, under the leadership of Professor H. G. Porthan of the University of Abo, an attempt was made to revive the study of the Finnish language and of the early history of Finland. This movement was at first purely literary in character, but it soon took a more practical nationalist character, and an attempt was made under the leadership of a Finnish soldier, Sprengtporten, to constitute Finland as a fully independent state under the protection not of Sweden but of Russia. Whether this movement was inspired by a pure Finnish patriotism, or was due in part to the ambition of Russia to challenge the power of Sweden in the Baltic, cannot be said at this date. But clearly the Finnish people had their suspicions, for the movement proved abortive. Finland remained a province of Sweden, autonomous, but Swedish in language.

It was early in the nineteenth century that Finland passed from the suzerainty of Sweden to that of Russia. For some time the power of Sweden had been dwindling and that of Russia growing. The decision of the war of 1808-1809 left Sweden no option but to give up to Russia her sovereignty over Finland, the key country of the

Baltic, without control of which Russia's ambition to open a door to Western Europe could not be satisfied.

It should be noted that this decision of war was not interpreted by the Russians of that day as a conquest of Finland : the position rather was that, as part of the fruits of a victory over Sweden, the state which was the key to the Baltic should come within the sphere of Russian authority. It will have been noted that at an earlier period some section of the population of Finland had held the hope of attaining a greater degree of independence by transferring Finland from the protection of Sweden to that of Russia. Now in 1809 Finnish nationalism was inclined to acquiesce in the change as likely to lead to greater independence.

The then Russian Czar, Alexander I., proclaimed expressly that there would be no interference with the self-governing rights of the Grand Duchy of Finland. He called the representatives of the Finnish people to a Diet at Borga. To the Diet came four Orders—the Nobility, Clergy, Bourgeois, and Peasants. In the Cathedral of Borga on March 29, 1809, the Czar issued a manifesto undertaking to preserve the religion of the Finnish people, the fundamental laws from the time of the Swedish dominion, and their other rights. After this manifesto, the representatives swore the oath of

allegiance to him. Thus Finland held constitutionally, during the time it was united with Russia, the position of an autonomous state, owing obedience to Russia only in matters of foreign policy. The Czar acknowledged this when, at the closing of the Diet, he pronounced that "the people of Finland had now been raised to the rank of nations."

But the promise of the Russian Czar was not kept. Possibly Alexander I. meant to keep faith when he spoke. But, nominally despots, the Russian rulers under the Czardom were always more or less in the hands of their bureaucrats.

The Finnish Diet was never again convoked in the reign of Alexander I., nor in that of his successor, Nicholas I. When the Crimean War broke out (1853-1856) Finland was involved with her new suzerain power. It lost a great part of its merchant fleet, and in August, 1855, a British-French naval force bombarded the fort of Helsingfors harbour.

When Alexander II. ascended the Russian throne in 1855 a period of reform began. The Diet of Finland, from the year 1863, assembled regularly at Helsingfors. In 1865 Finland got her own rights of coinage. The building of railways began, and industry (particularly paper manufacture) developed quickly. A system of popular education was instituted, and, with the universal liability to

service, Finland formed (1881) a small standing army.

Alexander II. seemed to have gained a real respect for the Finns and their national aspirations, for in 1863, after having visited the country, he wished to leave a lasting memorial of his visit, and issued the following ukase: "Though the Swedish language will continue to remain the official language of the country, the Finnish language shall have the same right as Swedish in cases directly concerning the Finnish-speaking population of the country; therefore Finnish papers and documents shall hereafter be received, without resistance, by all courts of justice and Government offices in Finland." At the same time it was ordered that, at the latest in 1883, the Finnish language had also to be used in issuing documents of State.

A gleam of light this generous and romantic Alexander has cast into the generally gloomy story of the Czardom. He was, without doubt, naturally a good and a well-meaning man. Fortune gave to him a great and unselfish love, that of Catherine Michailovna. From her he gained counsels of wisdom and kindness. As M. Paleologue records:

With Catherine Michailovna he could open his heart without reserve. From her he had nothing to fear. Having renounced the world, cloistered in her love, she had no clique behind her. What they said to one another no one else knew.

The world they shared was encompassed within their own arms. And so when a political difficulty preoccupied the Czar it was nearly always at his mistress's side that he found its solution and felt his decision define itself. The simple fact that he had no need to keep a watch on his tongue enabled him to think more clearly.

Alexander II. did much for the freedom of Finland. He would have done much to grant more liberal conditions to his own people of Russia had not fate intervened. In 1880 he married Catherine Michailovna, and in 1881 wished to crown her, a commoner, as his consort. Partly as an acknowledgment of his love to her, partly as a means of reconciling his people to this, he signed on March 12, 1881, a manifesto announcing the introduction of a representative element into the Imperial administration, "the first act restricting autocratic omnipotence." The manifesto was to have been issued on Monday, March 14. On the afternoon of the 13th Alexander was killed by a Nihilist bomb—one instance of many when the hopes of a reasonable Russian progress to freedom have been blighted by murderous fanaticism.

The liberal and generous Alexander II. was followed by the narrow and reactionary Alexander III. Finland, as well as Russia, suffered. Though the concessions to freedom granted by his predecessor were not at once withdrawn—were, indeed, allowed for a time to grow and develop—

they were doomed. In 1886 it was decreed that the officials were allowed to use the Finnish language in dealing with cases, and in their mutual correspondence. This depended, however, on the goodwill of the officials themselves, and the practical result was that Swedish was mostly used, until it was ordered in 1887 that minor officials had to use the language which was the official language of their parish; the higher officials could use the language they chose.

But soon Alexander III. began a policy directed to Russify Finland in matters of language and administration. His successor, Nicholas II., continued and extended this policy. In 1899 the "February manifesto" swept away almost all the power of legislation from the Diet, and transferred the decision of all important questions to the hands of the Russian Council of the Empire and the Emperor. A great deputation of Finnish citizens presented to the Czar an address with half a million signatures in which the annulment of the "February manifesto" was asked. Another address to the same effect was signed by numerous European scientists. Neither produced any effect. Russia had decided on a resolute effort to stamp out Finnish nationalism. Newspapers were suppressed. The liberty of association and assemblage was ended. Finnish officials were dismissed, and Russians were

engaged for all important posts. The army of Finland was dissolved. An attempt was made to make Russian the official language in Government offices as well as one of the chief subjects of instruction in the high schools.

The Finns met this with a policy of passive resistance. With a prudence which always governs their national pride, they recognized that armed revolt was useless, and ethical scruples kept them from methods of murder with which some weak and oppressed nationalities have opposed tyranny. To the policy of passive resistance the Russians replied with a military dictatorship. Then came the single violent incident of the Finnish resistance—the murder of the Russian governor by a young patriot, who, having shot the tyrant, killed himself.

Following the murder of the governor, there was for a time a tightening of the repressive policy of the Russian Government. But the Finnish population were not tempted into further acts of violence. They continued their policy of passive resistance. Officials refused to carry out their duties. Young men took flight when called upon to present themselves for the unlawful military conscription. Citizens went into exile and appealed to the conscience of Europe. But there were no more patriotic murders, nor revolts.

The conduct of the Finns during this period of

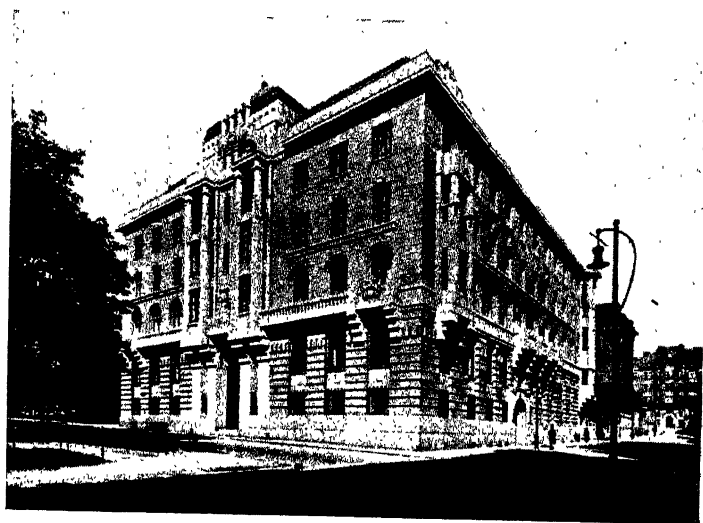
active Russian tyranny gives a clear indication of the combination in the national character of extreme prudence with extreme stubbornness. The Finns never yielded an inch to their oppressors, never made a concession, but also never revolted. They suffered, they kept silent, they waited. If there had been any policy of violence on their part, there is no doubt that it would have led to harsh reprisals and that the story of Finnish independence would have a great martyrology.

Some ardent spirits may be inclined to question a courage which could be so patient, but no one, knowing the Finns, can doubt their courage. They seem to have formulated for themselves and put into practice that theory of non-resistance which the pacifists of to-day consider would be a sure buckler for a disarmed people. Certainly it is difficult for an oppressor to butcher an unarmed and unresisting population. It is difficult, but not always impossible. Finland, however, escaped massacres.

Finally a general strike was decided upon by the Finns in October, 1905. This attracted some sympathy from the working population in Russia and involved the Russian Government in serious difficulties. Finland won a temporary relief. The "November manifesto" of the Czar in 1905 suspended most of the illegal decrees affecting



SCHOOL BUILDINGS, HELSINGFORS



TYPICAL FINNISH OFFICE BUILDING

Finland, and in 1906 a new Finnish Diet was convoked. For this Diet there was abolished the old system of four Orders of members. It was a single-chamber Parliament elected by universal suffrage on the proportional representation system.

The relief was, however, only temporary. The policy of Russia veered again towards reaction, and in 1910 most of the powers of the Finnish Diet were abolished. So the position remained until the outbreak of the Great War in 1914. During that war the position of Finland resembled that of a neutral country in many respects. The Russian authorities dared not conscript the Finnish manhood for their armies, and owing to their difficulties elsewhere were not in a position to carry out any vigorous policy of repression of national sentiment. The Finns had to suffer somewhat from the requisition of food supplies and from the necessity of accepting Russian paper currency at its face value. Otherwise they were left almost free from the horrors of the World War. With that uncanny prudence of theirs, they committed no overt act which might have forced the Russian Government, in spite of its other difficulties, to adopt a more vigorous attitude towards them. They watched and waited, naturally hoping for the defeat of Russia, secretly laying the foundations for a movement towards independence.

From 1914 the Finnish Diet was not convoked, and the Russian Government decided all Finnish questions. With the first Russian Revolution in 1917, however, Finland recovered her right of autonomy, and the Diet met again. It soon came into conflict with the interim Government of Russia, and it was dissolved. When a new Diet met in December, 1917, the Russian Revolution had developed from its earlier moderate stage into the Bolshevik movement. With that the Finnish Diet had no sympathy, and on December 6, 1917, proclaimed the independence of Finland. This proclamation was recognized by the Governments of Sweden, Germany, and France, and was not questioned by Russia.

But the Russian Bolsheviks made a determined effort to drag Finland into the vortex of their own fanaticism. There were in Finland many Russian Bolsheviks—mostly soldiers—and they sought, with some success, sympathy from among Finnish industrial workers. A "Red Guard" was formed, and on January 27, 1918, began a rebellion to overthrow the social order. The "Reds" easily took possession of south and south-west Finland and the most important cities—Helsingfors, Abo, Tammerfors, and Wiborg. The upholders of social order, the "White Guard," held central and north Finland. Those Russian troops who were still in

the country joined in part with the "Reds," and from time to time troops were sent to their aid from Russia. The "Reds" had also at their disposition stores of Russian arms and ammunition. The "White Guard" had a great lack of arms. Gradually supplies were procured—chiefly from Germany. The peasants formed the main force of the "White Guard." General C. G. Mannerheim, who, as a "White" Russian officer, had taken part in the Great War, was appointed Commander-in-Chief. Appeals made to Sweden for help met with no response. An appeal to Germany was more successful, and a German force landed in the south of Finland and liberated the capital.

The story of the suppression of the Red rebellion in Finland is not a happy one. In my investigation I failed to find any evidence at all that there was in its suppression anything more than the necessary measure of severity. If the Red Party under its Russian leaders had succeeded in holding Finland, it would have marked, probably, the end of that country. The Bolshevik rage against the orderly elements of society, which inflicted such cruel harm in Russia, would, in Finland, have resulted in an almost complete extermination of the population.

It would have been desirable if Sweden had been able to accept the invitation from the party of

social order in Finland to come to their rescue, but it is quite easy to understand that Sweden, which had jealously guarded her neutrality during the Great War, was reluctant to make a move. To have done so might have resulted in her being overwhelmed by Russia. There was at the time no certainty that the Russian Revolution would not produce some great and masterful men as did the French Revolution.

The German acceptance of the invitation to help might have resulted in the destruction of Finnish liberty in another way. It is not possible to imagine that the Imperialist Germany of early 1918 had any intention of helping to restore order in Finland and then retiring to leave the people to decide their own destinies.

But fortune proved kind to the Finns. The German help was undoubtedly of very great assistance to the "White" Party, and when in May, 1918, the Red Peril had been overcome, a fresh Diet was summoned, at which, in accordance with what might have been expected, the members were influenced partly by gratitude to, and partly by fear of, Germany. It was proposed that Finland should become a monarchy under the rule of Prince Friedrich Karl of Hessen. If that proposal had been adopted, and if Germany had come out of the World War as a conqueror

Finland to-day would be a dependency of the German Empire, and would be having experience of a far more effective mastery than she had ever before suffered. But in the month of October, 1918, when this plan for a German kingship had been accepted, the ambition of the German overlordship of Europe was already doomed. In the following month Germany had to confess herself beaten. General C. G. Mannerheim was chosen regent of Finland. His policy was not one of dependence on Germany or any other Power, but of absolute national freedom. This freedom was acknowledged in 1919 by all the Great Powers, and a new Diet elected in that year declared for the Republican form of government which exists to-day.

So much for the Finn historically. Let us now visit him in his home to-day.

CHAPTER III

THE FINN IN HIS CAPITAL

FOR a voyage to Finland (the first voyage, at any rate) I strongly recommend the tourist to take the direct route from Hull to Helsingfors. There are many other ways, of which more anon; but for those who are desultory travellers (and everyone travelling for pleasure should be a desultory traveller) the danger in setting out for a desirable country by way of other desirable countries is that you are apt never to get there. Who has not had the experience of planning to see Brittany by way of Normandy and never getting past Normandy? of designing the Bavarian Alpine districts as a gate into the Austrian Tyrol and never reaching the Tyrol? Best to go to Finland direct and to begin to be desultory after reaching the country. There is space enough there to roam in. One may keep to the south-western coastal districts a whole summer without tedium, and still have the attractive areas of the east, where, as a Finn merchant told me (he had in his mind a wide definition of the term "wild fauna"), "You may find bears and Englishmen fishing"; and then still the north, with its Lapps, its reindeer, its Arctic scenery.

Finland, also, has a fresh impression to give to the traveller that he can best receive with a fresh mind from a few days' sea voyage.

This direct sea route will carry the tourist across the most famous tract of water in the world's history—that "wet triangle," with its apex at Heligoland, over which was fought during four grim years, in battle and in blockade, the naval issue of the World War. Go over the Heligoland Bight—with the help of a chart if you have one, or a friendly ship's officer will allow you the use of one—and study the completeness of scientific preparation which Germany gave, by sea as well as by land, to the great struggle which was designed to give her the hegemony of the world. Once having obtained and fortified Heligoland and built the Kiel Canal, the German naval force was provided with a perfect defence base and also with a perfect port of sally for the attack on Great Britain. She was in the position that she could never be forced to battle except at her own moment, and yet could go out to battle at any moment. The ship from Hull to Helsingfors will always cross the "wet triangle," and may bring the traveller through the famous Kiel Canal (and that is an experience worth having), or, if another route is taken, will give him the opportunity of seeing Copenhagen.

When the Baltic Sea is entered, historic interest

yields to pleasure interest. The Baltic Sea has great charms in the summer, more even than the Mediterranean. It is usually smooth and lake-like and blue, with a soft, tender, love-in-the-mist kind of blue, very different from the languid, drowsy blue of the Mediterranean, which I have known people to find a little bilious in summer after a week's experience! This Baltic blue is a singing blue, but never screams; rather murmurs Scandinavian love songs. The soft breezes blowing over it carry a perfume of pine-trees, suggesting buried forests with treasures of amber guarded by pale gold sea-nymphs, but really having the much more prosaic explanation that the sea-way carries the crowding traffic of timber ships, their fresh-cut planks of Baltic pine exhaling a fragrant aroma. Many Baltic ports are ice-bound in the winter; with the summer, the sea is like a busy street with the rush of timber traffic.

Apart from the historic interest and the interest of beauty, the direct sea route has other minor advantages. The ships from Hull are excellently comfortable. The fare provided for voyagers is Finnish fare, so that one has the advantage of sampling it under what I call "natural conditions" and without the hampering restrictions of liquor prohibition which afflict the table in Finland. The merits of the Finnish cuisine cannot be fairly judged.

unless there is allowed a moderate accompaniment of light beer or of white wine and even of an occasional spoonful of cognac. It begins with the usual "continental" breakfast of coffee and rolls (no alcoholic drink is taken with this!), which discovers some new and delightful forms of bread. There is knackerbrod, for instance, made of rye, unleavened I should say, and, when properly crisp, of delightful taste. There is clean strength in it, too, far more than in the starchy white bread of Britain and of France. One could live a week on knackerbrod and butter and do a hard day's work all the while.

Lunch comes fairly early in the day and is generally the principal meal. It offers a variety of about thirty different snacks and trifles, such as little potatoes, cooked in their jackets and served to be eaten whole with plenty of butter, pepper, and salt; omelette and egg dishes; cheese with knackerbrod; sardines, lake trout, and half a dozen other varieties of fish; caviare; reindeer tongue, hard and smoked; a kind of reindeer biltong; various other dried and preserved meats; and various salads of cooked or of raw vegetables—radishes, onions, celery, cabbage, cauliflower, etc. You choose about half a dozen of these "appetizers," consume them, and then try another half-dozen. A good Finnish appetite is able to encompass about twenty in all. (Those

who have lived in Russia will recognize that in this one particular at least, of making the little preliminaries the most important part of the midday meal, Finland follows Russian customs.) There comes next one of a variety of set dishes—of meat, eggs, or of fish—and then coffee.

The evening meal repeats the *hors d'œuvres*, but generally not in such extensive variety, and there follow two or three set dishes, the final one being usually a fruit tart or a fruit pudding. It is all very appetizing and wholesome, but, to my taste, requires the accompaniment of light wine to be truly enjoyed.

Entering the Gulf of Finland from the Baltic, the blue of the water takes an even softer, lighter tone. As the coast of Finland is approached the islands appear: thousands of dainty little islands from the size of a postage stamp upwards, the archipelago suggesting that the children of the sea gods had been playing with a toy box of islands. Then one comes to Helsingfors harbour, and having taken on a pilot, threads a way through more islands and finally brings up at a quay in the middle of a city which has something of the suggestion, at first, of Sydney in Australia, or of Toulon in the Mediterranean. Helsingfors is a city of very clear outlines; of a sober, almost austere, colour scheme; of handsome buildings interspersed with parks;

not so much gay in appearance as serene, cheerful and, above all, clean.

The League of Nations should really organize deputations from other countries to ascertain the methods by which Finland is able to maintain her ports with such spotless cleanliness. They are all the same—Helsingfors, Hango, Abo, Wiborg. The people have solved completely the problem of carrying on the dirty business of trade without having dirty, untidy quay-sides.

The Customs examination at Helsingfors need give the tourist no apprehensions, even though he has decided to safeguard himself against the austerities of Prohibition with a pocket flask of spiritual comfort. The Customs officers are prompt, polite, and not unduly inquisitive. Perhaps inspired by an uneasy conscience, I had been studying the regulations closely, and I encountered with joy one really human touch. Finnish law exempts brides' trousseaux from any rude exactions ! The regulation is worth quoting :

Brides' trousseaux or wedding presents, consisting of household utensils, clothing, bed-linen, under-linen, tablecloths, curtains and draperies, when the articles are imported not later than within three months of the marriage ceremony being performed. This is, however, not meant to include table silver, furniture, carpets, etc. The character of the trousseaux and wedding presents and the marriage ceremony shall be proved by means of certificates from the Legation or

Consulate of the respective countries in Finland or from the Finnish Legation or Consulate in the home country of the married couple. Finnish citizens domiciled abroad for not less than two years are equally entitled to bring trousseaux or wedding presents into the country, and the certificate referred to shall be witnessed by a Finnish Legation or Consulate abroad or by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in Finland.

Evidently the women voters of Finland—they are the oldest women voters of Europe in the sense that they have had the franchise longest—know how to make their influence felt in regard to the things that really matter. I know of no other Customs House in the world which takes this gallant attitude towards a bride. How charming if Dover, Southampton, and Liverpool followed suit !

“Yes, madam, a bride ? Just by way of formality I must see your marriage lines, please. Yes, all in order. There will be no need to look at your boxes for silk stockings, nor for anything else that is silken. All is free. The Customs of Great Britain ask to be allowed to congratulate you and your husband. Yes, straight through to the train, madam.”

If the visitor is fortunate enough to reach Helsingfors during the daylight hours—and these are very long during the summer months, when light leaves the sky for only about four hours of the

twenty-four—he will be tempted, after settling down in one of the numerous good hotels, to see something at once of this characteristic city.

My first afternoon in Helsingfors was filled with impressions of admiration for the freshness and vitality of Finnish architecture. The Finn, with his fertile and sober imagination, to my mind, has succeeded better with the problems of modern architecture than any other people of the world. Not that it expresses much praise to state merely that they have done better than other peoples: as a matter of truth it expresses very little praise indeed. But there can be added the real praise that the Finnish architects are producing buildings which are worthy of being classed with some of the good examples of older times.

What is the reason of the astonishing sterility of modern art in architecture—a sterility which is vividly brought to my mind as I write by the praise I see in a daily paper of the achievement of someone who is building “old world cottages” with good bricks taken from old buildings, with good beams, also taken from old buildings, and with good tiles: these, too, a legacy from our ancestors; he is using these old materials worthily and well, following an old design, and will even provide that his pseudo-old walls and chimneys will have realistic bulges suggesting advanced age. (Their

stability, we are assured, will not be affected : it is merely an ingenious touch to give an air of ancienry.)

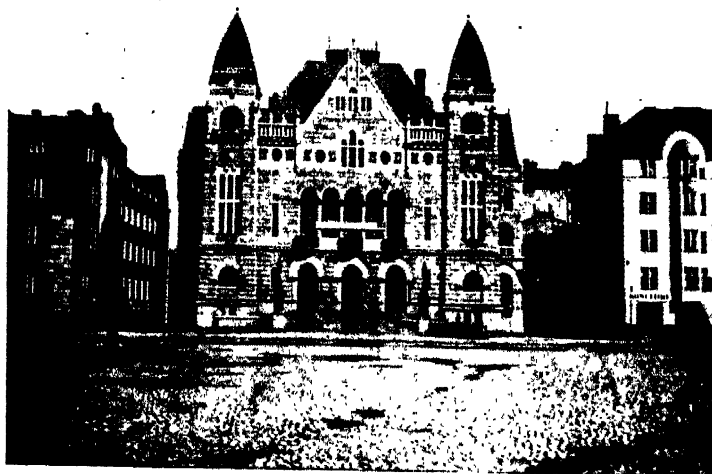
The twentieth century can only produce good art in architecture when all that sort of thing is scrapped. The assiduous, apish imitation of old models may give buildings pleasant enough to the eye, successful enough commercially, but they will not give examples of twentieth-century architectural art. All those architects who are chewing over old Grecian and Roman models, old Renaissance models, old Tudor models, modifying or distorting a little here and there, are wandering in an artistic desert. Yet how very few architects anywhere in the world are tackling from its foundation the problem of providing the people of the twentieth century with houses, with workshops, with temples, which will reflect in some degree their outlook on life ; which will express their achievements in science ; which will make intelligent use of the materials available in a manner suitable to the landscape setting which the buildings are to occupy. Have the civilized peoples of the twentieth century no outlook on life to reflect ? Perhaps that is a part of the explanation. A larger part is that the machinery epoch has put to sleep the artistic consciousness of the masses. A century ago highly civilized peoples had the natural

faculty—which nowadays you find only in peasant peoples—of recognizing what was suitable and beautiful. They built good cottages, manors, and churches, not because there were a select few who claimed to be “artists” and the rest were ignorant millions, but because there was a general community sense of the seemly and the beautiful.

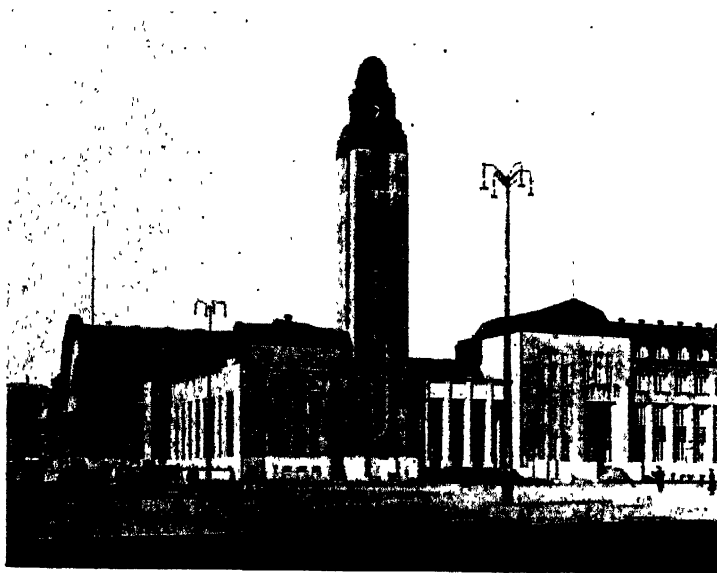
But to get back to Finland: the Finns have produced a modern architecture which is art, and their achievement in this direction is far more remarkable than the German achievement in the new art form of the film theatre. Helsingfors has several buildings which, on a fair estimate, would occupy places in a list of a score of the world’s best twentieth-century buildings. Their architects have studied old traditions to learn, and not merely to imitate. They have cut away almost completely from the models of Greece and Rome as being obviously unsuitable to their northern climate. They have taken more directly from Egypt. They have studied Gothic and learned much from it, especially not to produce sham Gothic. The glowing semi-barbaric, semi-sophisticated achievements of Byzantium, which run riot through Russian architecture, they have almost completely put aside. Obviously they have studied their own landscape, its contours, its colours; their own skies and light. They have, too, remembered that

their best material must naturally be the native granite, and their second-best material concrete, and they fit their designs to their materials, not trying to achieve a Corot with a wool embroidery outfit.

The buildings of Helsingfors thus are works of art, and works of Finnish art. The great railway station at Helsingfors is not the glorified shed of British railway architecture. It is not an attempt at a music-hall which trains may enter, according to one notorious French model. It is a modern architect's fine and true conception of the right kind of house for that entirely modern institution, the railway. That is one example. A Natural History Museum, to cite another, would seem to have been designed with the artist having in his mind the bear, which is the characteristic animal of the native fauna. It is a strong, comfortable, hibernating type of building. Buildings for banks, for offices, and for factories have always the same air of being suitable. Their decoration, usually simple, chaste, severe, sometimes rich and daring, is drawn from the scenery, the natural life, and the mind of the country. There are no stock mouldings reproducing in horrid monotony degradations of designs which originally, when first carved, were beautiful as decorations of the lines of a Greek temple.



THE NATIONAL THEATRE, HELSINGFORS



HELSINGFORS RAILWAY STATION

Something of the architecture of Helsingfors having been noted, admire the admirable plan of the city: how full advantage is taken of the promontories, the bays, the hills; how well the buildings are placed. From almost every quarter there are charming vistas of wood and of water.

But do not let the tourist allow his admiration to betray him into fits of absence of mind. Helsingfors, as indeed all Finland, has nowadays motor fever in an acute form: in an even more acute form than the countries of Western Europe. The Finnish motorist has directed his first care to getting a motor, and intends to learn how to use it prudently in the future. So the general recklessness of the driving constitutes a real danger to unwary pedestrians. Finland seems to recognize this as a nuisance, and the other day a special police detachment was sent to London to study methods of traffic regulation there. The result, I hope, will be effective reform. The average modern street offers few temptations to the promenader to stop and admire. Helsingfors has many such temptations, and its traffic regulations should be correspondingly prudent. Nor are we all as athletic as the Finns: personally it disturbs my taste for a building if, in stopping to glance at it, I have to make a wild leap to escape a motorist in a hurry.

Finland has about three months out of the twelve in which the open air is enjoyable. It believes in taking the fullest advantage of every hour of that time. The cities are well provided with open-air restaurants and cafés. My first afternoon in Helsingfors I went out to Brunnsparken, about twenty minutes' brisk walk from the centre of the city. Here an ingeniously laid-out and well-planted little park occupies a section of a promontory between two busy bays and a railway line. It has quite an air of woodland seclusion, and in the middle is an excellent restaurant with an open-air theatre. Dining in the restaurant, which gave a view through an avenue of trees towards a sparkling yacht-studded bay, I decided to wait to see the play. During dinner, clouds rolled up and sharp rain threatened. The restaurant itself was under roof-cover, but the stage was set in the open air. I concluded that there would be no performance, but within half an hour the whole equipment of the open-air theatre had been moved into an interior hall of the restaurant, and we had our play at scheduled time. The Finn is a very practical person, and believes in an enjoyment, without tears, of the open air. Why cannot the great European capitals have more of the same facilities—places which are open air when the weather is fine, but have opportunities for shelter in case of rain?

After the play—the night again beautifully clear, the stars trying to make a show against the twilight, which was still lingering in the sky at 11 o'clock—home to bed.

A second day in Helsingfors gave these notes :

The streets are all paved with granite sets or cobble-stones. They are noisy and unpleasant for walking. It is explained that they are economical, and stand best the snows of winter. But Finland has unlimited resources of wood and of tar, and nowadays manufactures practically the whole of her local consumption of cement. One may hope, therefore, that wood paving will soon be adopted for the chief streets of the cities.

The Finn's first luxury is to buy a little sailing-boat. The harbour is full of small craft, which are sailed with great skill. With the older and lazier men the motor-boat is supplanting the little yacht. There is a flourishing local manufacture of these motor-boats.

The Finn's second luxury is to build a little summer place somewhere on the coast. These houses (which are only occupied for about three months of the year) are elegantly built of weather-board, and usually have their own bathing places and little gardens.

Excellent use has been made of the islands in Helsingfors harbour. One, very near to the city,

is used as the Zoological Gardens. It gives great opportunities for keeping sea animals, but a pair of magnificent Polar bears looked bored to tears in spite of the fact that their quarter was provided with a fine natural swimming-bath.

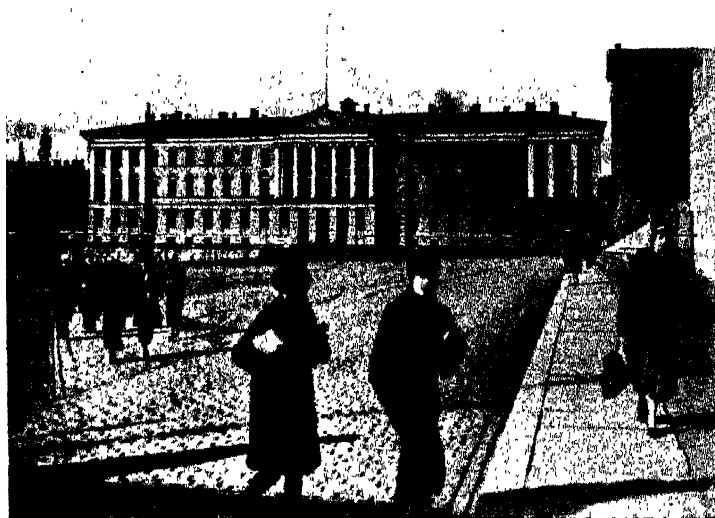
Another island has been converted into a park in which are preserved specimens of old Finnish buildings, especially farmhouses. This island is the favoured meeting place for folk-lore societies, and there are pavilions for holding folk-dance meetings. It is a very good idea to preserve specimens of early buildings in this way, and might be imitated in other countries.

The shops of Helsingfors are well supplied with articles of practical utility. There is a clever application of art to the construction of furniture, of carpets, and of hangings. There are very few jewellery shops, and little jewellery is worn by women or by men.

The little droshkies after the Russian model are most comfortable and provide an easy means of sight-seeing around the city. The Finn pony is an elegant, lively little creature. The carriages are well sprung. The drivers are civil and skilful. It does not seem to be the local custom to give them tips, though they certainly deserve them, for their charges are very low. There is a zone rate for any point within the city itself, and a higher rate to



FINNISH HORSES



THE UNIVERSITY, HELSINGFORS

places outside the zone. Some of the droshkies are provided with movable hoods, and for these a slightly higher charge is made. The tourist, however, can keep a droshky all day without great extravagance.

Visits to the Art Galleries and to current picture shows suggest that the Finn has not succeeded yet in pictorial art as he has in architecture. The artists are skilful enough, with plenty of lively fancy, but they follow every art fad of the moment, and have as yet no school of their own. The pictorial expressions of the Finnish landscape are sometimes rather disappointing. Finland has yet to produce great artists who can interpret in pictures the spirit of her woods and lakes. Sculpture is many degrees ahead of pictorial art.

It is not possible to hear good Finnish music at any concert halls in Helsingfors during the summer. Classical music is kept for the winter. In the open-air restaurants there is plenty of lively music such as would be heard in any European café. Cabarets are not allowed by the authorities, and the atmosphere of the city is distinctly not "raffish."

The bookshops are excellent. One in particular would be worthy of any capital in the world. The Finn is evidently a very industrious reader. Figures that were given to me by a bookseller of his sales of books could not be equalled anywhere

(except, perhaps, Australia), considering the population.

The Finn man in the street gives a good advertisement of the highly organized athletic life of the community. He is almost invariably well developed. The Finn woman, too, shows evidence of careful physical culture. The usual types are blonde. The feminine figure is generally small and neat.

Women's dress does not follow the extremes of Western European fashion: it is a good deal more modest, for one thing. Most of the "fashions" come from Stockholm.

You hear Swedish spoken as well as Finnish. Finland is a bilingual country, with Finnish and Swedish as the official languages. Most educated Finns know also either French, English, American, or German. Russian is rarely spoken by Finns, and the Russian colony is a very small one considering the long term of the Russian domination. In the coastal districts the majority of the population can understand either Finnish or Swedish; in the inland districts practically the sole language is Finnish, and the peasant does not understand Swedish.

The Finn will not, indeed cannot, discuss the question of his language from the point of view merely of its literary value, its bearing on convenience of international relations. For centuries

it has been the banner of his claim for independence : to-day he would regard the question, " Is it worth while to preserve the Finnish language ?" as practically tantamount to asking, " Is it worth while preserving Finnish independence ?" The difficulties which surround the maintenance by a numerically small people of a tongue which is quite apart from all the great European groups, which has no close relation with the English nor with the various Latin tongues, nor with the Teutonic, Slavonic, or Scandinavian tongues, carry no weight in his mind. Under Swedish suzerainty he insisted on maintaining his Finnish language, and under Russian domination. Now with independence he regards it as the palladium of his liberties ; and indeed the majority show a little impatience at the survival of Swedish as a concurrent language.

I tried to learn some Finnish. To pick up a few words was easy enough, but I came to the conclusion that to learn Finnish well enough to enjoy Finnish literature in the original would be a long task. The grammar is very complicated, far more complicated than that of ancient Greece, and words submit to almost numberless inflections to show case, mood, tense, degree, and number. Thus the Finnish noun is declined with a series of suffixes to the root of the word, and there are fifteen cases : the nominative, the partitive, the genitive, the inessive

the elative, the illative, the adessive, the ablative, the allative, the abessive, the prolativ, the translative, the essive, the comitative, and the instructive ! Adjectives follow the nouns through all this labyrinth of inflections, and are also inflected to show the comparative and superlative degrees. To add to the bother, possessive pronouns are normally expressed by inflecting the noun. Fortunately there are no genders. Verbs are not only inflected for tense and mood but also have a separate inflection for affirmative and negative (thus, *olen*, "I am" ; *en ole*, "I am not").

The little Finn at school must have some bother with his grammar lessons. But he seems to stand the strain well and is a cheerful youngster.

Let us move away from the capital now and see something of the Finns at work.

CHAPTER IV

THE FINN AS FARMER

FINLAND is chiefly a land of small farmers: 65 per cent. of the population owe their existence to farming and forestry. The two occupations of husbandman and woodman are often carried on together, the small farmer having rights over a little section of woodland, the forester having a patch of arable land to grow part of the food for his family and for his stock. The most important crops are oats, autumn rye, barley, potatoes, and hay. For the production of hay the soil and climate are especially favourable.

Considering its northern situation, Finland has an unusually mild climate. Most of the soil, however, is not suitable for cultivation. On the coastal plains and on the shores of lakes and rivers the soil is best. The area of the cultivated ground at present is only about 9 per cent. of the whole area of the country, but this percentage is gradually growing. About 60 per cent. of the surface is at present covered by woods and about 30 per cent. by thin wood and swamps or by rocks. Most of the cultivated land is, of course, in south Finland, but there are fields as far north as the southern shore of Lake Inari.

In the reclamation of lands which are at present swamp lands there is a great future for Finnish agriculture. I should say, at a rough guess, that the arable land of the country could be almost doubled in time with good drainage, since so much territory now hesitates between being land and water. It will not be the work of a year, nor of a decade, nor even of a generation : it must be carried on consistently with the growth of the country's markets.

Not only Finland's politicians but her poets see this, and it is a favoured theme for good verse and stories—the resolution of a stalwart son of the soil to add something to the Fatherland by reclaiming. This is the underlying serious motive of Linnan-koski's fine novel, "The Song of the Blood Red Flower." The hero is, in one aspect, a Byronic fellow, apt to love lightly and pass on. But there is the one real woman in his life, and there is the one real ambition—to reclaim a swamp ; and at the end of the novel we see a converted Don Juan with the one woman by his side and the one work before him :

They had reached the window now. "Look!" said Olof suddenly, pointing out.

Down in the valley lay the marsh of Isosuo, spreading away almost immeasurably on every side. At the edge of the water two big channels were being cut ; in front were a host of workmen clearing timber, while others behind them dug

the channels in the soil. It was like the march of two great armies towards the land of the future. The setting sun cast its red glow over the powerful shoulders of the men as they worked, here and there a spade or an axe flashed for a moment: the water in the dykes glittered like silver, and the moist earth at the edge shone with a metallic gleam.

"Ah!" cried Kyllikki joyfully, "the work has begun!"

Olof turned her gently from the window towards him, put his arms round her, and looked into her eyes, as if trying to sum up in a single glance all they had seen and suffered, lived through and hoped.

"Yes, the work has begun," he said softly, and held her closer to his breast.

Since the achievement of her freedom, Finland has pursued steadily a policy of peasant proprietorship. In 1901 only 23 per cent. of the families in the rural districts owned land. A policy of wider distribution of farm land on a basis of equitable compensation to owners of estates was then set on foot. The Land Purchase Act of 1918 marked the culmination of this policy. Under this Act every tenant has the opportunity of becoming the owner of his leasehold, the redemption or purchase price being paid to the landowner in 5 per cent. bonds guaranteed by the Government. Tenants pay the Government in yearly instalments of the purchase price, 6 per cent. in the case of farms, and 8 per cent. for dwelling sites, of which 5 per cent. is interest, and the balance is for amortization. The yearly instalments liquidate the principal in

thirty-seven and twenty-one years respectively. The landowners, appreciating the great social and economic importance of the scheme, are, in general, helpful.

Thanks to this measure, by the end of 1922 no less than 50,000 small holdings, crofters, and rural dwelling-sites had been established as independent freehold properties. This measure was followed in 1921 by others concerning the redemption of tenant holdings belonging to glebe land and State properties under certain conditions, and dealing with the "colonization" of the State forests and of the redemption of tenant holdings within that area. Further, by the purchase of large estates, which were parcelled into small lots, the State created new small-holdings.

Yet another measure was submitted to Parliament in 1921—the law for the provision of land for the purpose of colonization, commonly known as the "Lex Kallio," after the then Minister for Agriculture, Kyosti Kallio. As it raised a question of "fundamental law," the Bill had to be declared urgent by a decision supported by five-sixths of the recorded votes, or it could not be finally passed until a new election had taken place. The majority in favour of the Bill did not reach the five-sixths required, and consequently the Bill was left in abeyance until the meeting of the next Parliament.



THE HARVEST



A PEASANT HOME

In July, 1922, a new Parliament was elected after a campaign in which the Bill formed one of the chief issues. After a final deliberation in the new Parliament the measure passed.

This law contemplates the creation of two forms of land settlement properties—those for purposes of cultivation, and those for the provision of housing accommodation. Wherever the redemption of forest land is possible, the agricultural holding may be provided with a sufficiency of land to supply wood for household needs. The housing sites may include, besides the actual building area, sufficient land for the raising of fruit and vegetables for home consumption. In the last resource, under this new law, large estates may be compulsorily purchased and divided into small holdings.

According to 1920 statistics (the latest available on this point), the land in rural communes in Finland included very few big estates. Only 8 per cent. of the total arable land was held in areas of 250 acres and over; much more than half was held in areas of 50 acres or less.

The farming and dairy interests of Finland owe much to the co-operative movement, which, in their country, is chiefly a rural movement. In 1899 the Pellervo Society was formed to promote co-operation among the rural population. The object of the Society is "to promote the economic

prosperity of the people by means of co-operation, and to be a connecting link between the different co-operative enterprises working in the country." District experts are employed to disseminate the idea of co-operation and to give practical guidance, and there are frequent special agricultural co-operative conferences. The Society has drawn up a special system of book-keeping for all co-operative societies, and supplies the necessary books. A co-operative and agricultural journal called *Pellervo* is published. There are, in all, 8,926 Co-operative Societies, some producing, some distributing, some chiefly educative. The Government has given practical help by granting loans at low interest, up to half the amount of the initial expenses, for starting dairies. The co-operative dairies in 1916 produced 94.6 per cent. of all the dairy butter made in the country, and they dominate both the home and the export markets for milk and milk products. The co-operative dairies have eleven dairy unions, which work for the improvement of dairy technique and management. They engage in enterprises connected with dairying such as fuel and power supply and transport. The chief of these dairy co-operative societies is named "Valio," and it controls the export of butter from Finland and the price of butter within the country. "Valio" includes cheese, milk and cream, condensed milk

and lactose in its scope. It has large modern cold-storage warehouses for cheese at Helsingfors and Wiborg. Foreign trade is conducted through an office in Hull, and it has agents in Stockholm, Christiania, Berlin, Antwerp, and Amsterdam. It has been of great value to the dairy industry of the country by the centralization of sales, but its most important work is to improve the quality of dairy produce.

In early times the making of cheese had an important place in the economy of Finland. As early as the thirteenth century the peasants of Nyland and Finland proper paid part of their dues to Church and State in cheese. The northern historian Olaus Magnus wrote in 1550 that Finnish peasant cheeses were better than the Swedish ones, and compared them with the famous cheeses of Holland.

Scientific cheesemaking was introduced into Finland in the nineteenth century, when the first factories were established on many of the big estates. These imported skilled cheesemakers from Switzerland. Rudolf Klossner, a native of the Canton of Bern, in 1874 was appointed as the first State Dairy Consultant in Finland. Numerous Swiss cheesemakers who came over to work for the landowners afterwards rented dairies and carried on cheese manufacture on their own account. Many

of them, or their sons, are still engaged in this industry.

It was after the war that the co-operative dairies began to undertake cheesemaking. The co-operative dairies now make 69 per cent. of the total quantity of cheese produced. Emmenthaler is the principal cheese made in Finland, though small dairies make for domestic consumption what are called small cheeses of the type of Cheddar, Stilton, Edam, Gouda, Tilsit, Roquefort, and spiced cheese.

To help the co-operative dairies in cheese manufacture the "Valio" Association has established stations for the training of cheesemakers. There the pupils are given two years' practical instruction in the processes of cheesemaking, under the guidance of experienced teachers. After finishing the practical course, the pupils are given theoretical instruction in the Government cheesemaking courses at Mustiala, which were started in 1917. If they then wish to pursue their studies further, they can, after leaving Mustiala, take a nine months' course at "Valio's" Dairy Institute, where the chief subjects of study are dairy chemistry and bacteriology. "Valio" also arranges shorter courses each year for teaching the use of pure cultures, and other technical questions connected with cheesemaking. By these means Finland now has a body of cheese-



SAARIJARVI VILLAGE

makers who have received thorough training, both practical and theoretical.

Cheese for export is graded as to quality. Quality is determined by committees of three members: two officials of the State Butter Control Institute and one representative of the exporting firm. If the judges find the cheese to be of prime quality, and if the analysis shows that it contains more than 45 per cent. of fat in dry substance, the Institute officials stamp it with the Finnish mark for prime cheese. This mark, which is registered in the consuming countries, forms a guarantee and at the same time evidence of origin.

There are two central agricultural supply co-operative societies. The chief is "Hankkija," which deals both in agricultural requisites, such as manures, seeds, fodder, and machinery, and in agricultural produce. Its seed department, dating from 1911, is of considerable importance; the resulting improvement in the native seeds placed on the market has been of great benefit to the farmers of Finland. Its machinery department deals in agricultural machinery, machinery for dairies, flour-mills, saw-mills, etc. It has a number of flour-mills and a centre for dealing with raw hides. Other agricultural co-operative societies deal with livestock, with timber, with eggs, with peat fuel. There is even a co-operative society to deal with whortleberries!

In the sum it amounts to this, that the Finnish agriculturist in every branch of production has at his back an organization which strives to get for him at the lowest possible price all that he consumes; to sell for him at the highest possible price all that he produces; to keep rates down for transport and for power; and to give him all the advantages of modern research.

Those who are concerned with the troubles of the British farmer might usefully study conditions in Finland. They would find that whilst the man on the land in Great Britain has middlemen biting into his yield wherever he turns, whether to buy or to sell, the man on the land in Finland has organized to cut to the lowest possible point the cost of the journey from farm to table.

The Finnish farmer is further helped by the numerous social and athletic societies which aim to combine education with amusement (of these more will be said in another chapter). Music, and the comforts of the bath-house (almost every Finn settlement has its steam bath-house, which is not only a means to cleanliness, but, as in Russia and the eastern countries, also a social centre), come further to his aid in the long winters. But, withal, his is no easy life. Always threatening enemies are a too rapid thaw which will wash his seed out of the

ground, or a late frost which may bring his year's crop to sudden ruin.

There is a vivid picture of his life in one of the national poet Runeberg's shorter poems (translation by E. Magnusson and E. H. Palmer : C. Kegan Paul and Co., London 1878) :

High 'mid Sarijarvis' moors resided
Peasant Paavo on a frost-bound homestead,
And the soil with earnest arm was tilling ;
But awaited from the Lord the increase,
And he dwelt there with his wife and children,
By his sweat his scant bread with them eating,
Digging ditches, ploughing up, and sowing.
Spring came on, the drift from cornfields melted,
And with it away flowed half the young blades ;
Summer came, burst forth with hail the shower,
And with it the ears were half down beaten ;
Autumn came, and frost took the remainder.

Paavo's wife then tore her hair, and spake thus :
" Paavo, old man, born to evil fortune,
Let us beg, for God hath us forsaken ;
Hard is begging, but far worse is starving."
Paavo took the good-wife's hand, and spake thus
" Nay, the Lord but trieth, not forsaketh,
Mix thou in the bread a half of bark now,
I shall dig out twice as many ditches,
And await then from the Lord the increase."

Half bark in the bread the good-wife then,
Twice as many ditches dug the old man,
Sold the sheep, and bought some rye, and sowed it.
Spring came on, the drift from cornfields melted,

And with it away flowed half the young blades ;
Summer came, burst forth with hail the shower,
And with it the ears were half down beaten ;
Autumn came, and frost took the remainder.
Paavo's wife then smote her breast, and spake thus :
" Paavo, old man, born to evil fortune,
Let us perish, God hath us forsaken ;
Hard is dying, but much worse is living."

Paavo took the good-wife's hand, and spake thus :
" Nay, the Lord but trieth, not forsaketh,
Mix thou in the bread of bark the double,
I will dig of double size the ditches,
And await then from the Lord the increase."
She mixed in the bread of bark the double,
He dug then of double size the ditches,
Sold the cows, and bought some rye and sowed it.
Spring came on, the drift from cornfields melted,
But with it away there flowed no young blades.
Summer came on, burst forth with hail the shower,
But with it the ears were not down beaten ;
Autumn came, and frost, the cornfields shunning,
Let them stand in gold to bide the reaper.

Then fell Paavo on his knee and spake thus :
" Aye, the Lord but trieth, not forsaketh."
And his mate fell on her knees, and spake thus :
" Aye, the Lord but trieth, not forsaketh."
But with gladness spoke she to the old man :
" Paavo, joyful to the scythe betake thee !
Now 'tis time for happy days and merry.
Now 'tis time to cast the bark away, and
Bake our bread henceforth of rye entirely."
Paavo took the good-wife's hand, and spake thus :

“Woman, he endureth trials only,
Who a needy neighbour ne’er forsaketh ;
Mix thou in the bread a half of bark still,
For all frost-nipped stands our neighbour’s cornfield.”

That tells all the trials and all the heroism of husbandman ; and tells, too, of his charity which, when he has at last won a good crop, urges him to eke out his grain with ground bark for bread-making so that a needy neighbour may be fed.

A grand stock, these Finn peasant farmers, and it is sound national policy to encourage their growth.

Nor does the Finn neglect the harvest of the sea. He is a bold and daring fisherman, and in the winter ventures long journeys on the ice to get to the shoals of fish. There has been lately a good deal of effort to add to the natural resources of the fisheries by pisciculture. The most important of the fish which have been bred is the native lake salmon. This fish attains “portion” size in three or four, sometimes even in two, years. The sea salmon and bleak are also bred for planting out. The hatcheries in Finland belong to the State, to agricultural associations which have special State grants for the purpose, or to private individuals. The Finnish and Swedish Governments are now preparing a scheme to establish a hatchery with

weirs on a large scale in the Tornea river. The funds to construct and maintain this hatchery are to be supplied jointly by the two countries, the object being to keep up the stock of sea salmon in the locality.

CHAPTER V

THE FINN AS FORESTER

THE Finn was forester before he became farmer or manufacturer on any large scale, and forestry is still his greatest single source of national wealth. But he does not care to be regarded as merely a "hewer of wood" and provider of raw material for other peoples, nor as being dependent solely on the timber industry. Indeed, a section of the Finnish community—not the wisest section—is inclined to regard the export of what may be called "raw timber" as hardly beneficial to the country, and would, if they had their way, impose legislative checks to secure that Finland's timber should go abroad only in the form of paper, matches, and other manufactures. That is an extreme form of Protectionism which has not commended itself to the majority and probably never will. It is sound policy for Finland to encourage local manufactures to the greatest extent possible: it is not sound policy to attempt to carry encouragement to the point where it will check the total of exports.

Best, of course, to export trees in the finished form of tables, matches, rolls of paper, and boats;

but the extent to which this can be done depends on the capacity and the willingness of foreign markets to absorb manufactured products. Those trees which cannot be exported in the form of paper or other finished products had better be exported as planks than not exported at all, *provided* that there is not a waste of the natural timber resources—*i.e.*, that the amount cut each year does not exceed the amount that growth can replace.

Australia has somewhat the same feelings in regard to her wool as Finland in regard to her timber. She wishes to manufacture more and to export less in the form of raw material. But experience has shown that this desire has to be satisfied in strict relation to market possibilities, and the idea of export duties on raw wool has been abandoned.

In Finland, apart from its economic value, the timber industry is of benefit, too, in keeping a special note of adventurousness in the country's life. As the "cowboy" is to Canada and the "overlander" to Australia, so is the lumberman to Finland, the man whose calling has a particular appeal to eager youth and the spirit of daring. The national literature is rich with tales of the forester's life, especially of his dominance of the river rapids which carry the wealth of the woods to

the mills. Linnankoski, to whom I am already indebted for a vignette of a Finnish hero facing the great task of swamp reclamation, has in his novels many vivid pictures of the lumberman's conquest of the rapids, as, for example, this :

Kohiseva Rapids are a lordly sight in spring, when the river is full. The strong arch of the bridge spans its powerful neck, and just below the rapids begin, rushing down the first straight reach with a slight fall here and there. Then curving to the right, and breaking in foam against the rocky wall of Akeanlinna—a mighty fortress of stone rising straight up in mid-stream, with a clump of bushes like a helmet plume on its top. The river then divides, the left arm racing in spate down to the mill, the right turning off through a channel blasted out of the rock for the passage of timber going down. A wild piece of water this: the foam dances furiously in the narrow cut, but it ends as swiftly as the joy of life: over a ledge of rock the waves are flung a couple of fathoms down into the whirlpool called Eva's Pool. Here they check and subside, the channel widens out below, and the water passes on at a slower pace through the easier rapids below.

That is Kohiseva. The rock of Akeanlinna would be left untroubled were it not for the lumbermen and their work. In the floating season, the channel between it and the left bank is filled with timber, gathering like a great bridge, against which new arrivals fling themselves in fury, till they are drawn down through the cut.

He goes on to tell how two rival lumbermen attempt to ride the rapids. One fails, but his hero, Olof, succeeds by a wonderful feat of courageous gymnastics.

As pictured in the national literature, the life of the lumbermen is very attractive in every stage—from the felling in the snow-mantled forests to the guiding of the rafts through the turbulent spring freshes of the rivers—a life of eager, strenuous work in close communion with nature: a life brightened by comradeship and a keen spirit of emulation.

The forests of Finland extend over an area of 62 million acres. There is thus a greater proportion of forest land in Finland than in any other country of Europe. The principal trees are pine, fir, spruce, birch, and aspen. The great majority of the forests are made up of pine and spruce. The pine is in great demand abroad. The spruce, in addition to its value as lumber, is excellent raw material for the pulp and paper industries. The birch is best suited to the needs of the veneer, reel and bobbin, plywood, and dry distillation industries, as well as for the manufacture of furniture and tools. The aspen furnishes the best wood for the match industry.

The climate and natural conditions of the country favour the economical exploitation of its forest wealth; the only real enemy is a soft warm winter, which will interfere with transport. Ordinarily the winter snows allow easy carriage, by horse-drawn and motor-drawn sleighs, of the felled timber to the

banks of the water-courses ; then the spring floods carry the logs down to the saw-milling centres. There, by ingenious manipulation of the forces of the swiftly-running rivers, the logs are brought to the very edge of the saw-bench. The necessity for human labour is reduced to a minimum. The water which, as snow, has provided in the first place a hard road for the log to reach a river valley, and has then, with the thaw, carried it downstream, now, guided by races, brings it right into the workshop.

Natural routes of transport from the forests to industrial sites are furnished in abundance by the numerous waterways which cover the whole country in a thickly-veined network, combining in their lower reaches to form big rivers leading to the sea. To a great extent these waterways are natural rafting channels, while others have been modified for the purpose, so that timber can be collected along them from wide areas in the interior and accumulated at the river mouths along the coast at which most of the large saw-mills have been built.

Finnish forestry is further aided by the fact that the natural reproduction of pine and spruce proceeds successfully with little artificial help. Sowing and planting are not essential to reproduction as, for one instance, in Germany. Nature provides for the

propagation of seedlings: and there are practically no serious diseases to affect the trees. Owing to these causes the annual increment in the Finnish forests is assessed at about 44 million cubic metres, against an annual consumption of about 40 million cubic metres. The forestry resources are thus not wasting away: exploitation is being kept within the bounds of the natural yearly increase.

At one time there was great nervousness on this point. Finland began to exploit its forest at a very early date. At first confined simply to satisfying home needs, the trade in wood soon began to gain an export market. Towards the end of the Middle Ages Finland exported boards and rough timber, and also various carved articles, such as basins, plates, forks, tubs, etc. This export trade extended far beyond the shores of the Baltic Sea and became the basis of a shipbuilding industry.

In the seventeenth century the forestry policy of the Government began to place serious obstacles in the way of this timber trade. It was believed that the forests were being seriously depleted and that it was necessary to diminish the quantity of wood consumed. The Government adopted a forestry policy to hamper the saw-mill industry and with it the freed development of the wood trade. As late as 1851 the forestry regulations only allowed mills to saw a given quantity of

timber, fixed by the Government, and in order to prevent evasion the dates when each saw-mill might begin work were fixed. When the sawing season came to an end, an official set the Government seal on the saws and water-wheels. Permission was never granted for sawing more than 10,000 logs, however great the sources of supply and the number of full-grown forest trees available might be. Moreover, when steam saw-mills were invented, in the middle of the nineteenth century, their use in Finland was for a time prohibited by law.

The prohibition of steam saw-mills was removed in 1857, and in 1861 the other regulations which had hampered the industry for nearly three centuries were abolished. The trade immediately responded. In 1860 the total exports of wood goods from Finland did not quite reach a value of 10 million marks, but by the middle of the following decade the value had risen to 50 million marks. In 1913 the exports of wood goods reached a value of 227 million marks. In 1924 the timber industry provided employment for 37,443 men (25 per cent. of the total number of operatives in Finland) and exported products to the value of 2,191 million marks (nearly half the total exports of the country).

The years immediately after the war were in general favourable to the industry. In several

competing countries (Russia and the Baltic States) the timber industry was paralyzed; in Sweden costs of production were high. Later, variations in the demand for timber in foreign markets, a heavy decline in prices and keen competition with other timber-producing countries hit the Finnish timber trade hard. Improvement in the position is now being sought by stabilizing the increasing demand for timber and by raising prices. Recent measures taken by the timber firms—the establishment of minimum prices and a general restriction of output—have been planned with this object in view. Probably they will succeed. The timber (like every other) industry in Finland is well organized to get the best possible conditions for its foreign export trade.

A survey of the forest resources of the country has been carried out during recent years with means granted by the Government, the work having been done in the case of private forests by the Forest Research Institute and in the case of State forests by the Board of Forestry. The present growing stock of the forests of Finland, according to the results of this survey, is 57,214 million cubic feet with a value of about £100,000,000.

Of the forests of Finland, the Government owns 39 per cent., churches and communities about 2 per cent., business corporations 8 per cent., and

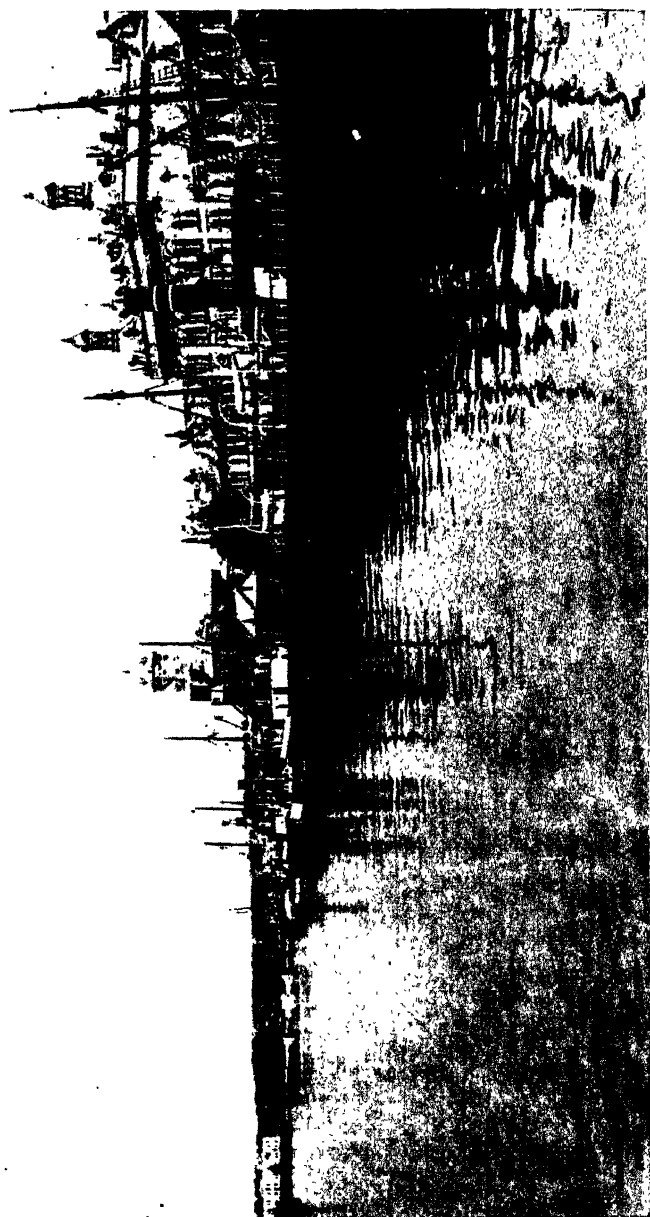
individuals about 51 per cent. The Government forests are situated mostly in the north, and their administration and care is in the hands of a Board of Forestry.

The destruction of forests is prevented by the Forest Law of 1917, which forbids cutting to a degree which would endanger natural renewal, while cutting of growing pine and spruce, except in accord with scientific thinning, is forbidden. The Diet recently passed a law providing for "Forest Reserves," under the terms of which large areas of forest land in the north will be declared "reserves," and in these cutting will be allowed only under strict supervision.

For the advancement of forestry among the farmers the Government grants appropriations to agricultural societies, out of which forestry advisers are paid. The officials of the Forestry Boards of the various administrative districts, upon whom the enforcement of the Forest Law of 1917 devolves, also give advice to forest owners.

Thus no precaution seems to have been omitted to safeguard the woodland wealth of Finland. Exploitation is economical in method, and it does not exceed in its annual cuttings the annual natural increase. The care of the forests is good, and is becoming better as the result of the knowledge gained from the recent general survey. All the

indications point to an increase of production in the near future. The present difficulty in finding markets is likely to prove only temporary. The world has a growing hunger for wood, and the rapid development of the newspaper habit adds yearly to that hunger. The printing presses of America and the British Empire alone devour a forest a day with their million circulations. The natural forest areas of the world dwindle. If Finland can continue to keep, as she is to-day keeping, forest exploitation within the bounds of renewal, she will have an asset of huge natural wealth for future generations.



WIBORG HARBOUR

CHAPTER VI

THE FINN AS MANUFACTURER

ONE of the remarkable—and, to my mind, perverse—developments of modern economic thought is that which makes nations, especially young nations, apt to regard success in manufacturing as the chief test of national spirit. There has almost departed from this modern thought that idealization of the life of the cultivator of the soil which was once universal. An Augustus of to-day, giving the theme for a patriotic poet laureate, would not suggest to him to write a new Georgics, but rather a pæan of praise of a steelworks or of a cotton factory. Indeed, the primary producer has become almost an object of contempt in many people's minds. They look upon him as "Hodge," as "Hayseed," as a "boob," a bovine clod, to be classed in a lower order of intelligence than the clever "hand," who can manipulate a bobbin in a textile mill, or carry on some tiny mechanical process in a form of mass production which a machine has not yet been designed to do.

It is, I think, a perverse way of thinking; the man who is drawing his livelihood directly from

the soil is, on the average, the more intelligent man, though perhaps not the "smarter" man; and is the best bulwark of national strength. But it is the general way of thinking these days—a way of thinking which is an early product of education on "mass production" lines, and will pass away as popular education becomes something more than acquiring a smattering of "book learning" at the expense of deadening the natural peasant intelligence.

The Finns are not altogether superior to this modern craze. They have an eager ambition to make their nation a great manufacturing nation; but they have at least the good sense to take some precautions, lest in the process of producing a great artisan population, the qualities of physical robustness and of general intelligence of the race are lost.

The Finns, year by year, are employing a greater ratio of their number in factories. But the almost universal organization of athletic associations, the fact that every young citizen must submit to a term of military training, the importance attached to technical education, and the insistence everywhere of the best workshop conditions and of the most modern welfare arrangements, provide some safeguards against the growth of a class who are "hands" rather than men. They do not go so far in the path of practical common sense as the

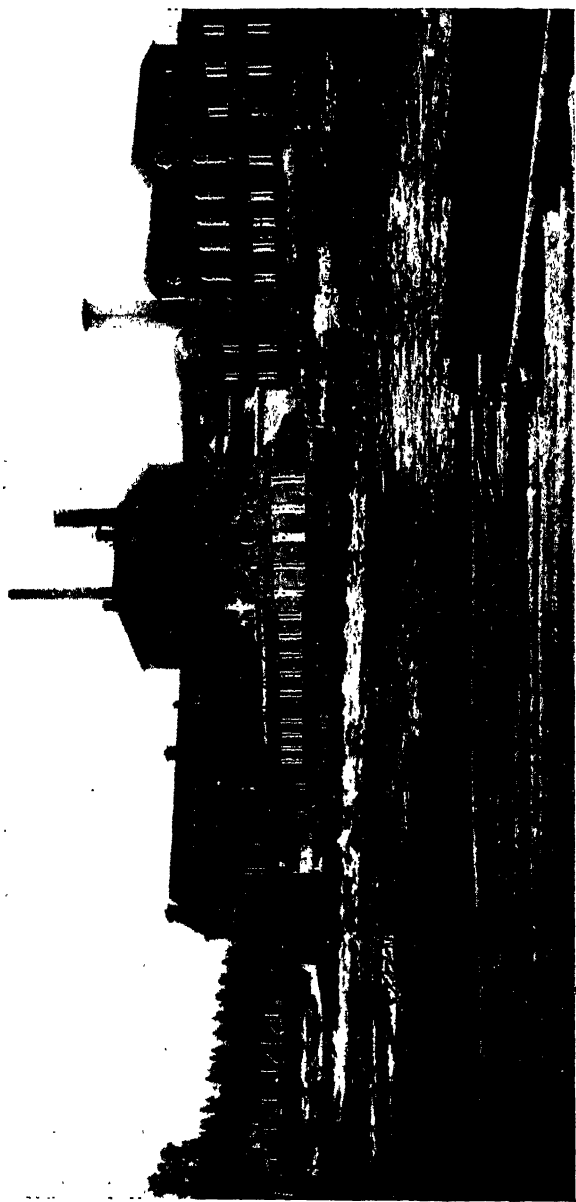
Serbs, who insist that an essential part of every youth's education, whether he is intended to be farmer, soldier, artisan, civil servant, or professional worker, is a grounding in some form of agricultural knowledge. But they do seek to avoid the production of an industrial class which is divorced altogether from the wholesome primal activities of mankind. Finnish factory workers are encouraged to keep their physical fitness by gymnastics and sports, and for a portion of their lives as conscript soldiers they come under more natural conditions of life than a factory, even the best of factories, can offer.

And, apart from the employees, Finnish factory organization is excellent. My general observation of Finnish factories is that they represent the last word in modern layout. This is due in the first instance to the fact that practically all the great manufactures of the country have been established or remodelled recently, since knowledge has been gained of the importance of layout; and, in the second instance, to the sedulous care of Finnish captains of industry to learn everything that can be learned in the way of efficiency organization. In the result, the typical Finnish factory of any class represents the best scientific arrangements to secure economy in production and wholesomeness in working conditions. Older countries, whose

industries have been established for decades or for centuries, have a natural inclination to try to carry on by the older methods, or, at any rate, to modify them only in so far as is absolutely necessary.

Very formidable as a world-trade competitor will be the Finland of the future. If your factory has been sited with a view to getting the greatest possible convenience of transport in of your raw material and transport out of your finished article ; if, further, in its building the factory has been adjusted to take every advantage of the gradients of the land, so that in the processes of manufacture your article will, so to speak, march a great part of the way by gravity ; if all your machinery is of the most modern, labour-saving type—clearly you have great advantages over rivals whose works are losing a fraction of a minute here, an ounce of labour energy there, at various stages of their processes.

Looking at one of the factories of the great Pargas cement combination in Finland, and comparing its methods with a somewhat similar undertaking in Great Britain, I was very greatly impressed by the economies reaped from effective lay-out. The whole process of manufacture in this establishment marched steadily from the pits which supplied the raw material, step by step through every stage without ever a pause or turning back, gravity doing a big share of the work, until the finished



A PAPER MILL IN FINLAND

product arrived in the hold of the steamer or the barge which was to carry it to its market. I was not surprised to learn that this cement industry, though an infant in point of years, and though under the necessity of importing English coal for its furnaces, had already won to a dominant position in its own home market, and was looking out for an export trade.

The co-operative bakery of Elanto at Helsingfors gave another example of scientific layout to secure economy in production. The great saw-mills and paper pulp-mills were other instances. Indeed, throughout the whole industrial life of Finland, with rare exceptions, the same thing can be observed—a full use of the methods of modern scientific production, such as can be noted in the best modern factories of the United States, of Great Britain, of Germany, and of Belgium. There are a few works which still have old-fashioned machinery and employ old-fashioned methods. But they are few, and are rapidly being scrapped in consistency with a policy of scientific industrial development. Scarcity of capital is sometimes an obstacle to the rate of development: never lethargy or ignorance.

Though manufacture in the large sense of the word is in Finland chiefly a matter of the late nineteenth and twentieth century development,

there were some early industries. In the Middle Ages there were some small manufacturers of wood and likewise the distillation of tar from timber (the Tudor navies of Great Britain used not a little of Finland tar in their construction). In the seventeenth century the first ironworks and the first paper-mills were founded. The iron industry, which was specially favoured by legislation, soon grew to be the foremost in the country, the raw material being native lake-ore, and mountain-ore from Sweden. In the eighteenth century the first spinning and weaving factories and the first tobacco factories were founded. In 1885 (the first year for which statistics are available) the factories of Finland had 38,000 workers and a production value of 117 million marks. At the end of the nineteenth century these figures had more than doubled. In 1923 the workers in factories numbered 143,000 and the production value 9,132 million marks.

The factories of Finland are generally owned by joint stock companies. There are comparatively few industrial establishments owned by private individuals, and a marked characteristic is the tendency to form large combines. This tends to economy of production and the avoidance of unprofitable price-cutting.

The leading branches of manufacture in order of importance, based on the value of gross production,

are : timber, paper, foodstuffs, spinning and weaving industries, iron and steel products, leather and tanning, cement, stone, clay, glass and peat, smelting and metal refining. Among the more important specific items of manufacture are : planks, beams, flooring, box-boards, doors, window-frames, sashes, veneers, plywood, reels, bobbins, spools, cart-wheels, boxes, furniture, charcoal, matches, rosin, turpentine, wood alcohol, wood pulp (mechanical and chemical), cardboard, newsprint paper, other papers, steam engines, internal combustion engines, turbines, electrical equipment, motor-boats, tractors, threshing machines, mowing machines, cream-separators, dairy machinery, cement, leather and textile goods.

I do not propose to attempt to go through that catalogue of industries in detail, but to note some few of the more interesting developments of the Finnish industry. The manufactures associated with forestry are, of course, of the first importance. As far back as the middle of the nineteenth century, wood goods and paper constituted more than half the export trade of the country : to-day they constitute nearly 90 per cent. The paper industry had a beginning in Finland even before the possibility of using wood pulp for paper manufacture was known. It had a more or less legendary beginning in the year 1660, when Bishop Johan Gezelius the Elder is

said to have owned a paper-mill at Thomasbole. The Frenckell paper-mill in Tammerfors (which is still running) certainly dates back to the year 1779, and the Terwakoski mill was started in 1818. These used rags as their raw material. The first pulp-mill in Finland was established in 1860 near Wiborg, and after that date wood came into use as the raw material of the paper industry. During the present century many new mills were started, while the older ones were enlarged and improved.

For some years paper exports went on increasing at a great rate. Exports to Russia, in particular, increased rapidly. During and since the World War, however, manufacturers met with many difficulties. After the war the industry had to reverse the direction of its exploration of markets from the East to the West, a process rendered more difficult by the keen competition existing in the Western markets and by the higher standard of quality demanded there. But the difficulties were met, and appear now to have been overcome. Since 1920 there has been a steady increase in exports.

The chemical pulp industry has also had its troubles, but the industry has made good progress during the last few years and has an export of over 300,000 tons. Mechanical pulp has also made satisfactory progress.

A new timber industry is the manufacture of

plywood. The first plywood factory was erected in 1912. The number of working factories is at present ten, and four more are in the course of erection. The enormous increase in the consumption of plywood all over the world has given a strong impetus to this industry. The Finnish plywood factories use birch-wood almost exclusively as their material—a close-fibred and beautifully grained timber which easily takes stain and polish. Aspen is also used for plywood to an extent of about 10 per cent. of the whole production. England is the largest buyer of Finnish plywood, which is used as building material, for furniture, for packing boxes and barrels, and it is particularly well suited for making tea chests, because birch is one of the few kinds of wood which does not spoil the flavour of tea.

In the manufacture of reels, bobbins and spools for the textile industries, Finland has the most important place in the European markets; and another interesting wood industry is the making of a strong cardboard which is used for building partitions.

It is significant of the spirit of Finnish industry that it is not content to import the talcum and china clay and other so-called “mineral flours” which are used as fillings in the manufacture of printing and writing paper. Fairly large quantities of filling material are consumed by the paper

industry. During the last few years between ten and twenty thousand of such materials (china clay, talcum, asbestine, pure talc) had to be imported annually. None of these substances is produced in Finland, so search has been made for some substitute of local origin. Apparently the search has been successful, for experiments carried out at various paper-mills have shown that talcum product made from Finnish potstone is in practice comparable with the cheaper kinds of foreign talcum used by the Finnish paper-mills, and in the making of newspaper can compete with the foreign article. A company which owns large potstone deposits has resolved to establish the manufacture of talcum for paper-making.

Generally speaking, Finnish industrial concerns can be safely recommended to the notice of foreign capital seeking investments. There may be, here and there, "wild cat" enterprises, but the great majority are sound and very prudently conducted. A proof of the general prudence of manufacturing policy : speaking with the Minister of Commerce and Industry (Mr. Pulkkinen), a very level-headed and able politician, about the possibilities of new industries, I inquired about artificial silk. He was dubious as to the prospects of establishing in Finland that industry for some time to come ; pointed to the absence of any considerable home market,

to the great capital necessary for factories, to the fact that the industry was still to some extent in the experimental stages, and a country without great financial resources could not afford expensive experiments. It was a sound view to take.

The sites of Finnish industries are governed by two great considerations: convenience of transport and proximity to water-power; and an industry is accustomed to create its own villages and towns. A good example is the paper and pulp mill at Warkaus, one of the greatest concerns of the kind in the world. It is sited so as to use most conveniently the timber resources around, and to take advantage of the transport facilities of the Saimaa Canal. Its pulp-mill produces 40,000 tons a year, its cellulose-mill 26,000 tons, its paper-mill 22,000 tons; and it is building additional paper-mills and a plywood factory. This one concern nourishes a population of 8,000, and has built for them a model town, with esplanades, market-places, public buildings, schools, offices, and fine workmen's dwellings.

Similarly a cement works will not try to bring its raw materials to a centre of population. It builds a centre of population near the supply of raw materials, or near the harbour which is most convenient for its factory.

Generally speaking, since good transport facilities exist almost everywhere, industries group around

the centres where cheap electrical power is available, and this has led to Tammerfors being the greatest industrial centre. Finland has abundance of water-power, but it has not been very extensively developed as yet. The total surveyed water-power resources of the country aggregate $2\frac{1}{2}$ million horse-power. So far about 225,000 horse-power has been utilized. The largest water-system in Finland is the Saimaa with about 500,000 horse-power. The vast waters of Lake Saimaa and its many tributaries all flow through the Vuoksi into Lake Ladoga. At its source this stream forms the cataract of Imatra, famous for its natural beauty. Here the Government is carrying out an ambitious project, which will place all previous power enterprises in the background. For the time being it is intended to build the power-plant for 70,000 KVA, but it can later be extended to over 150,000 KVA. From Imatra a high-tension line will be carried to Abo, a distance of over 200 miles, with a branch line to Helsingfors. At the same time a great portion of the railroads are to be reconstructed and run by electricity. That will be of great economic advantage, but one may hope that the beauty of Imatra will not be altogether sacrificed.

The production of electricity by water-power in Finland is not all plane-sailing. The falls are not high. In general they do not exceed 90 feet. As the



THE JANISTOSKI WATERFALL, PETSAMO

power obtained is the product of the height of fall multiplied by the volume of water, much more energy can be created with less outlay of capital where there are falls of greater height. A further difficulty is the long winter, which sometimes causes stoppages, as ice forms in the riddles and freezing of the feeding-channels may take place. To prevent this, experiments have been made in passing an electric current through the riddle to heat it, but this has not proved effective. Water-power stations are, however, supplied with iron forks fastened to long wooden poles, which work up and down against the riddle. In this way the riddle is kept free from ice.

Finland is somewhat concerned at the fact that with the growth of big industry handicrafts show a tendency to perish. But a country cannot use the same flour both for bread and for cake. Cheap mass production inevitably kills cottage industries. But something can be done by intelligent encouragement, *and* by the safeguarding of the public taste in the arts, to maintain small industries in such manufactures as those of furniture, pottery, metal working, tapestries and rugs. No machine, generally speaking, can make anything so beautiful as the skilled human hand: the advantage of the machine is in its cheapness. A people which keeps its artistic health and sanity will insist, in so far as

its means allow, on keeping to the joy of having some few possessions in common use which express real beauty.

Of mineral wealth Finland has comparatively little, according to present surveys and to geological probabilities. But there is at Outokumpu a very interesting copper ore deposit discovered eleven years ago. In digging a channel near the lake of Saimaa an erratic boulder of rich copper ore was found. The foremen thought that it was a meteorite and sent a specimen of the stone to the Geological Survey, which started a research to discover the ore deposit from which the boulder had been detached during the Ice Age. The geologists succeeded at last in discovering, through diamond drillings, this ore in a place situated thirty miles from where the first boulder was found. This deposit is composed of pyritic ore with an average content of copper of about 4 per cent. and a total quantity of at least 200,000 tons of metallic copper. A production of 5,000 tons of copper per year is anticipated by optimists.

But mining people are usually optimists, until at any rate they come to their death-beds. Then sometimes they show that experience can teach: as in the case of the old mining prospector being solaced on his sick-bed by a clergyman who told him of the Heavenly Jerusalem, "the streets of which are paved with gold."

“Excuse me, parson,” interrupted the dying man, “are you quoting from the prospectus or from the battery report?”

The Finnish copper mine at Outokumpu near Lake Saimaa is in the prospectus stage as yet, not the battery report stage. But when Imatra Rapids are used for generating power, copper of Outokumpu ore may be produced economically. Let me express the hope that it will prove so—without wishing my readers to take this as a “tip” to invest in Outokumpu copper—for the Finnish people deserve a bit of luck like that.

But, copper or no copper, they have splendid resources to develop and exploit—the forests, the agricultural land which good drainage could almost double in area, the manufactures, to which they bring artisan skill, and a faculty of clever, economical organization.

CHAPTER VII

ART IN FINLAND

FINLAND has not four million people, but has won a place in the world's artistic life which would be creditable to a much greater race. There are Finn names famous in every corner of the globe where cultivated people gather.

Why?

It is an interesting subject for speculation. I offer some surmises, without attempting any exhaustive survey of Finnish art.

The foundational fact, naturally, is that the people have good, well-filled brain boxes. Then their racial origins have endowed them with the fertile imagination of the sun-nurtured races of the South, mingled with the stolid stability of the North.

The Finn mental type is comparable with the old Greek type, which probably had its first origin in the mingling of a vigorous Northern race of slow, steady wits with a Mediterranean type of vivid, quick imagination. Their strong national consciousness enters into the matter too; generally high artistic achievement is linked with high national pride (a good instance is that of Tudor



INTERIOR OF AN OLD CHURCH, SOUTH FINLAND

England). It was probably of advantage to the Finn national type rather than otherwise to have passed some centuries in a state which, though it can hardly be called of subjection, was yet not of full independence, and to have achieved nationhood at this present most interesting stage of man's history, when so many new problems confront the mind. They come fresh to the tasks of modern civilization.

About Finnish architecture I have already written something in this book. It gives the most outstanding evidence of the artistic vitality of the race, entering with success a field of art which most civilized peoples seem to have given up in despairing certainty that they can only copy, or distort, old models, and can produce nothing new.

The most famous modern Finnish architect is Gottlieb Eliel Saarinen, born at Rantasalmi, 1873. He worked from 1897 to 1905 as a member of the firm Gesellius-Lindgren-Saarinen. Amongst the best works of this firm were the Finnish Pavilion at the Paris Exhibition (1900); the building of the Fire Insurance Company "Pohjola" (Helsingfors); the mansion of Suurmerijoki, near Wiborg; and Finland's National Museum. Amongst Saarinen's own works are the Railway Stations of Helsingfors and Wiborg; the Town Halls of Joensuu and Lahti; and Esto Bank in Reval. His work has

won much international recognition in Russia, Australia, Hungary, Germany, and the United States. He has lately settled in the United States, where he is regarded as one of the greatest of the world's architects. Saarinen's buildings are notable for a fine sense of proportion, a complete harmony with the purpose which they are intended to serve, a grand originality without freakishness.

Most of the notable buildings in Helsingfors of an earlier epoch are the work of Engel (1778-1840), a German architect who was called to Helsingfors when the capital of Finland was removed from Abo in 1812. A great series of public buildings had to be constructed, and Engel was the designer of the chief of them. His foremost works are the University building, the Senate House, the Church of St. Nicholas, the University Library building, the Observatory, and the President's House. He followed the classical tradition, and his buildings are impressive, but to my mind not as interesting as the more modern works which show a definite Finnish art. But he showed a complete mastery of the science of planning a city.

The first Finnish native architect of prominence was Dahlstrom (1829-1882), who followed Renaissance types. It was not until the era of the Architectural Bureau of Saarinen, Gesellius, and Lindgren that the new Finnish architecture

developed. The remarkable fact of to-day is that Finland has produced not one or two geniuses, but a whole school of national architecture. One of the best of the younger men is Sonck (born 1870), whose Stock Exchange in Helsingfors, built in 1912, is a very fine work. I had the opportunity of seeing it under very favourable circumstances in 1925, when it was used for a State reception of the King of Sweden and his party. Other good moderns are Sigurd Frosterus, Oiva Kallio, and Siren Aberg Borg.

In music Finland has more than one world-famous name. The chief is Jean Sibelius, born at Tavastehus in 1865. He began his studies at the University of Helsingfors and at the Conservatoire. His studies in composition began under Wegelit, and were continued in Berlin and Vienna (1889-1891). Inspired by the legends of the Finnish national epic, Kalevala, he rendered them in music, showing a rich imagination, and fulfilled the work, begun by Schantz and Kajanus, for the creation of a Finnish national music. The style which he developed for himself is closely related to the music of the Finnish people, particularly in some archaic traits. The Finnish Government, with real wisdom, pensioned Sibelius at an early age, that he might devote his life to his art. In recent years he has produced more than

fifty important works, among which the "Valse Triste" and the symphonic poem "Finlandia" are especially well known in the world. His earlier works find their *motifs* chiefly in the great national epic, the Kalevala.

A summer tour in Finland does not give a good opportunity to study the music of the country, as the people very wisely take full advantage of the fine weather for outdoor sports; and serious music (as I have noted before) is to be heard chiefly in the winter—though as regards the chief Finnish compositions they can be heard almost anywhere in Europe.

Finnish national music had its first impulse in the early folk-songs and chants brought by the people from their homes on the Volga. The next influence was early Scandinavian. Subsequently, in the earlier stages of the Swedish suzerainty, Roman Catholic Church music had a distinct influence; one may note traces in it of the Gregorian chant. When the Protestant Reformation came, this Gregorian influence was not wholly effaced even after the adoption of the Protestant choral singing. Apart from Roman Catholic and Protestant Church music, there was also, among the Finnish nobility, close study of the profane music of the time.

When the suzerainty of Finland passed from Sweden to Russia at the beginning of the nineteenth

century the fresh awakening of the national consciousness brought a vigorous development of Finnish music. The first notable composer of this epoch in Finland was of German birth, Frederic Pacius (born Hamburg 1809, died Helsingfors 1891), who was Professor of Music at the University of Helsingfors. He was the composer of the national Finnish song "Our Country" (text by J. L. Runeberg) which was sung for the first time at the Feast of the Spring in 1848. Pacius composed several operas.

Finnish music was soon enriched by a number of native-born composers: Ehrstrom (1801-1850), Ingelius (1822-1868), Collan (1828-1871), Linsen (1838-1914), von Schantz (1835-1865). The works of all these composers showed the influence of the popular Finnish folk-songs. In 1893 the publication of the melodies of the Finnish people (they had been collected for some years), in which some 15,000 popular airs were recorded, marked a milestone in modern Finnish music.

Other great names in Finnish music are Wegelius (1846-1906), Director of the Conservatoire of Helsingfors, and Kajanus (born in 1856), who organized the municipal orchestra of Helsingfors. Kajanus orchestrated various popular Finnish chants, drawing on the Kalevala for his subjects. But Finnish music found its supreme expression in

Sibelius, as already noted. Following him came Jarnefelt, Melartin, Mielck, Palmgren, Madetoja, Kiljunen, Merikanto, and Kuula (a composer of such promise that many think that he would have rivalled Sibelius if Fate had not doomed him to an early death : he was killed tragically during the War of Independence in 1918).

In sculpture the most notable Finnish names are those of Stigell, Aaltonen, Vallgreen, and Wikstrom. Their work is notable for strength and realism without eccentricity. A gifted Finnish wood carver is Albin Kaasinen. He carves miniature sculptures in wood full of humour and true to nature.

In painting, the fresh vigour of Edelfelt's work (he died in 1905) gives a good impression of the national landscape, with its special beauties of fine contour and tender colour. Other notable painters of Finland are Munsterhjelm, Wright, Halonen, Jarnefelt, Gallen-Kallela, Thomé, and Rinanen.

The literary production of Finland is notable. Glancing back at its historic beginnings, the founder of literature in Finnish was the Bishop of Abo, Michael Agricola (died 1557), who, for the use of the clergy, wrote and published the first Finnish books : a primer and a prayer-book. He translated into Finnish the New Testament (1548) and parts of the Old Testament. Writers in Finnish who appeared after Agricola were chiefly men of the

Church who followed in the path of their predecessor, completing in the first place the Finnish religious literature. During the seventeenth century the Finnish language was almost entirely neglected. Men of learning made use either of Swedish or of Latin. On the initiative of Henri Gabriel Porthan (1739-1804) studies were begun in the history of the country and of its national poetry. The interest in the Finnish national poetry which he inspired brought forward the Finnish scholar, Elias Lonnrot (1802-1884), who, out of the stock of songs collected amongst the peasantry, formed the epic poem "Kalevala" (first edition 1835). The publication of the Kalevala, the Homeric cycle of the Finns, was a turning point in the history of Finnish literature. Johan Ludvig Runeberg (1804-1877) began his work as a poet contemporaneously with its appearance.

Some of Runeberg's poetry has been translated into English (by Magnusson and Palmer: C. Kegan Paul and Co.), and in an earlier chapter I have quoted one set of verses. Runeberg was born at Jakobstad, on the Gulf of Bothnia. His father, a retired sea-captain, gave him a good education. In 1830 Runeberg was given a post in Helsingfors University as reader in Latin literature, and in the following year added to this office that of a teacher in the Lyceum. In 1837

he obtained the post of reader of Roman literature in the College of Borga, where he spent the rest of his life.

The Kalevala has been translated into all civilized languages. The first complete English translation was published by John Martin Crawford in 1888. A new one, by W. F. Kirby, was published in 1907.

Lonnrot was born at Sammatti, in Nyland, in 1802. He studied medicine and practised for twenty years in Kajana, but in 1853 succeeded to the chair of Finnish at the University of Helsingfors, from the duties of which he retired in 1862. He helped to found the Finnish Literary Society at Helsingfors in 1831, and made, throughout his life, journeys through the whole of Finland, as well as the neighbouring parts of Lapland, Russia, and Norway, to collect the poetry and traditions of the Finnish people.

The first notable Finnish novelist was Kivi (1834-1872). Erkkö (1849-1906) was a fine writer of lyric songs and poetic dramas. Towards the end of the nineteenth century Finnish literature reflected the realism of the Scandinavian school of Ibsen and Björnson. The first Finnish woman writer of note was Minna Canth (1844-1897), evidently much influenced by Ibsen. Linnankoski (1869-1913) as a novelist is comparable with Maurus Jokai of Hungary. Some of his works

have been translated into English ("The Song of the Blood Red Flower"—Gyldendal).

Finland has produced a rich crop of scientific writers. A Finn made the first scientific study of the plants and animals of the United States—Peter Kalm, Professor of Natural History in the University of Abo. Kalm landed at Philadelphia, 1748, with letters of introduction, among others, to Benjamin Franklin, who was greatly interested in his work. He remained in America for two and a half years, travelling through the territory which now forms the states of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. While there he visited the Finnish settlement in Delaware, founded about a century earlier. He carried back with him to the great Linnæus, whose disciple he was, a great collection of plants, seeds, and insects, and in 1751 published an account of his voyage, "The Trip to North America," which was translated into English, German, Dutch, and French. This work gave such good descriptions of social and economic conditions, that it is still consulted as an authority on American colonial life.

Professor Westermarck (born in Helsingfors, 1860) is a sociologist of European reputation, who, after occupying positions in the Universities of Helsingfors and Abo, was called to a post at London University. His "History of Human

Marriage," first published in 1891, is still an authoritative work on the subject.

Finland has had a national theatre since 1872, and there is a Government Board of Specialists in Dramatic Art, of which the President is Professor Hirn, a notable writer on art and æsthetics, and incidentally a keen student of English sociology and literature.

Other notable names in Finnish literature are: Kivi (1834), the son of a tailor, whose "The Seven Brothers" is a magnificent symbolical romance; Paivarinta, a writer who describes realistically peasant life; Aho (1861), whose works cover every aspect of Finnish life, and who has wonderful descriptions of Finnish scenery.

Finland is doing well in the applied arts—furniture and rug-making particularly. For those who are interested in rugs—and what more fascinating hobby than to follow the footprints of history from rug to rug—the ancient Finnish examples of the art will have a great attraction. Old Finnish rugs resemble Anatolian carpets in one of the technical details of weaving. In both cases the tufts of yarn which cover the surface and form a kind of pile are fastened to the warp by a "Smyrna knot." But whereas Oriental carpets usually have only one or two threads of the weft between the rows of tufts, the Finnish rugs have, as a rule, from ten to twenty

threads. Modern Oriental carpets have anything from 800 to 2,000 knots in a row, while the number in the Finnish rugs vary between 66 and 304.

These rugs in ancient times were an important item in a Finn girl's dowry. The rug was principally intended for a bed-cover, but there is also evidence to show that young couples stood upon it to be married. It was specially the property of the wife, and after the death of her husband she inherited it as part of the "widow's bed." It was also used as a decorative hanging to adorn the walls of the dwelling on festive occasions; less valuable specimens were used as sledge-rugs and horse-cloths.

The first notice of Finnish rugs occurs in a deed of purchase of 1495, to which the convent of Nadendal was a party. A rug is included as part of the price. An inventory of another estate in the same locality has been published, which dates from 1549, and includes in the list of bedding pillows, bed-covers of gilt leather and other kinds, and eleven rugs.

Finnish rugs of the eighteenth century suggest Oriental designs coming under the influence of Gothic Church art. The religion of Islam has kept rug patterns in the East—except in Persia—fairly strictly to geometric designs: that religion looks upon the representation of human figures or other creations of God as savouring of impiety. The

earliest Finnish rugs were probably kept to geometric patterns; but later there came representations of flowers, birds, beasts, and human beings. To those who take a special interest in the subject, I recommend a very learned and exhaustive work, with copious illustrations, by U. T. Sirelius. It will add much to the knowledge of race tendencies, religious movements, and social changes, which may be gained from a study of old rugs.

Finnish decorative art is of high quality. There is a good tendency for architects to interest themselves in all the interior decoration of their buildings. Indeed, the Finnish architect takes his profession with an earnest thoroughness. Usually he is a close student of town-planning, and designs his house in full sympathy with its street surroundings; and then comes in as arbiter in matters of wall and floor coverings.

CHAPTER VIII

HOW FINLAND IS GOVERNED

FINLAND has an athletic democracy with, as its official motto (which encircles the medal struck in commemoration of national independence): *Finlandia liberam se ipsa lege vindicavit*. I venture a translation: "Finland has made good her claim to freedom by keeping her faith in law and good order." It is a proud boast and a justifiable one. What is remarkable about the freedom of Finland is that it has been won, not by insurrection nor by violence, but by a resolute, Stoic perseverance in national faith. The Finn may say with Henley:

In the fell clutch of circumstance
I have not winced, nor cried aloud.
Under the bludgeonings of chance
My head is bloody but unbowed.

It is the spirit of keeping freedom and the law innate in a people which is the sure guarantee of the good government of a country. If that is lacking no paper constitution, however clever, no code of laws, however exhaustive, can be of much avail. The British people in the nineteenth century were, I suppose, the best governed people in the

world in the sense that they were able to maintain the highest degree of social order combined with the highest degree of social liberty and the highest degree of administrative honesty (I say the British people in the nineteenth century: I should not like to make the same claim for the twentieth century, with the country governed by what is, in effect, the executive of a despotic single chamber and only kept from running right off the rails by the inhibitions bred under old traditions). Yet, looked at in the light of logic—the most deceptive of all lights in which to regard human affairs—what a mass of contradictory absurdities the British Constitution of the nineteenth century would seem! A monarch at its head, without whose assent nothing could be done, and with theoretic power to negative anything; a Parliament of two chambers with theoretically coequal powers except in the one matter of finance, and one of those chambers an hereditary one with no element of popular representation. Apparently a completely “anti-democratic” system of government; yet, in practical working, perfectly democratic, with good provision that “the never-ending audacity of elected persons” was not allowed to usurp the rights of the people, in the ultimate resort, to decide their own destinies.

The British House of Lords, with its theoretically coequal powers and its absence of all popular

warrant, in particular, seemed an absurdity : yet it was a perfect Upper House (which should have the power to prevent the representatives of the people from misrepresenting the people and acting contrary to their wishes ; should have the power to plead for a period of delay when it considers that the people are about to act rashly and without due consideration on issues vital to their destiny ; but should not have the power to thwart the wishes of the people, even when the people are inclined to folly, so long as it is a resolved inclination). The divine right of the people to make fools of themselves is one of the things to which we are committed with democracy. An Upper House should be bold to defend the people against trespass by their representatives, timid to stand in the way of the popular will. None of your paper constitutionalists—give them ever so much paper and ink—could design a body which so admirably met those qualifications as that theoretically absurd House of Lords of the British Parliament, which had grown like a tree, bending where it should bend, firm where it should be firm.

It is discordaunce that can accorde,
And accordaunce to discorde :

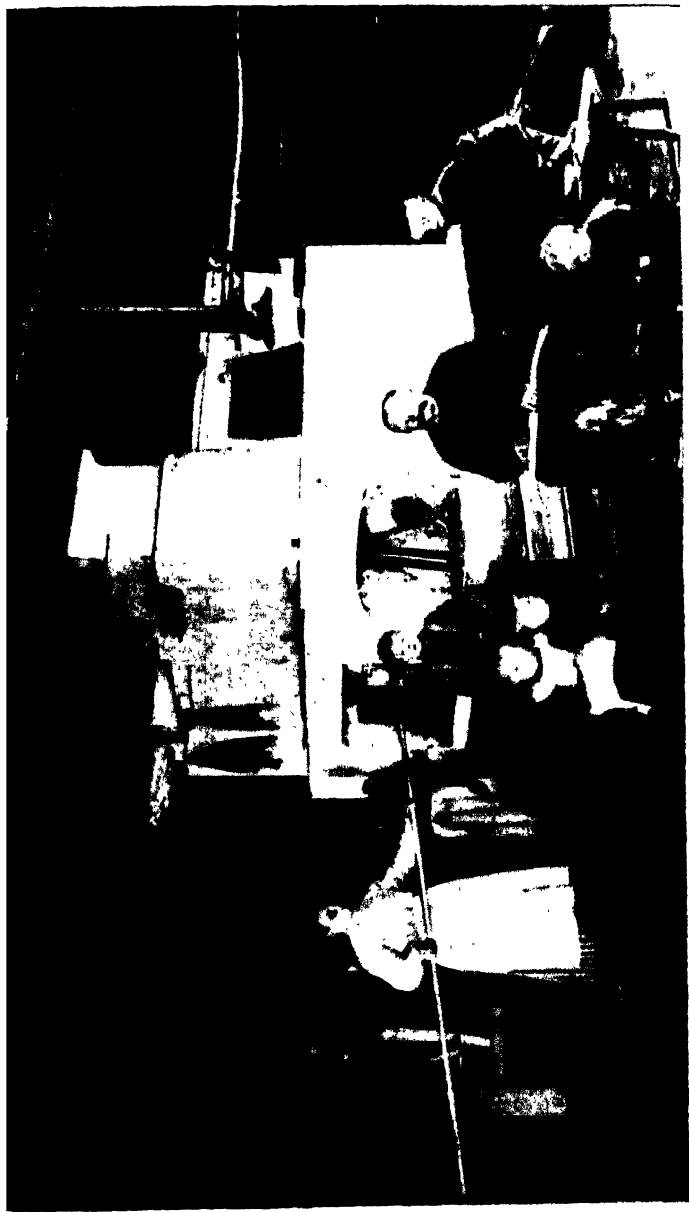
.

A strengthe weyked to stonde upright,
And febleness full of myght.

It had the required timidity and the required courage. It was an anachronism and knew that anachronisms have brittle bones and was timid, therefore, of conflict. It was from its circumstances very deeply interested in the national prosperity and security, and was courageous, therefore, when the occasion seemed to demand.

But that is rather a long way of saying that the Finns have a most ingenious written constitution which, in my humble opinion, is not worth two pins in the matter of the preservation of their social order and their liberties as compared with their inherited and tried sense of law and freedom. Yet there is the constitution, and since very many people are interested in constitutions, let us have a look at it and see the very latest thing in systems of popular government (it dates from 1919). It will be noted that it has not followed slavishly any known model. It takes something from British, something from American models, and has some unique features. Its Diet is a single-chamber one, but with various checks on its absolute power (though there is no provision for a referendum of the people on disputed issues).

The Finnish Constitution (1919) begins by declaring that Finland is a sovereign Republic, its constitution being established by this form of government and by other fundamental laws. A



INTERIOR OF A PEASANT HOME IN NORTH FINLAND

fundamental law has to receive the assent of five-sixths of the members of the Diet voting, and this is an important safeguard against the tyranny of casual majorities.

Sovereign power is vested in the people represented by their delegates in Diet, and legislative power is exercised by the Diet and the President of the Republic. Executive power is vested in the President of the Republic, acting with a Council of State consisting of a Prime Minister and other ministers.

Judicial power is exercised by independent tribunals, and, in final instance, by a Supreme Court and a Supreme Administrative Court.

In the Supreme Court and Supreme Administrative Council (this second body, with its functions, is peculiar to Finland so far as my knowledge of constitutional law goes) there are certain checks on either the President or the Diet trespassing, accidentally or deliberately, on the rights of the people, but the Supreme Court has not the same degree of power as under the United States and Australian Federal Constitutions (where it may actually veto the legislation of Parliament). In Finland the Supreme Court in judicial matters, and the Supreme Administrative Council in matters of administration, may be referred to by the President as against the Diet, or by the Diet as against the

President ; and both bodies have the right to suggest legislative measures to the President.

But the chief check on arbitrary action by the President or the Diet, or both, is that the constitution recites the elementary rights of the citizens of Finland ; and as the constitution is a " fundamental law " it can only be changed by a five-sixths majority. These rights are set forth as follows :

Finnish citizens shall be equal before the law.

Every Finnish citizen shall be protected by law as to life, honour, personal liberty and property.

The working faculties of citizens shall be under the special protection of the State.

Expropriation for purposes of public utility with full compensation shall be regulated by law.

Every Finnish citizen shall have the right of sojourn in his country, of freely choosing his place of residence, and of travelling from one place to another, except where otherwise provided by law.

Every Finnish citizen shall have the right to worship in public and in private in so far as he does not violate law or good morals ; he shall be at liberty also, in conformity with the special regulations governing the matter, to leave the religious community to which he belongs, as well as to join another such community.

The fact of belonging to any particular religious community, or of not belonging to any such religious

community, shall have no influence upon the rights and duties of Finnish citizens.

Finnish citizens shall enjoy freedom of speech and the right of printing and publishing written or pictorial representations without any previous restraint being imposed. They shall also have the right of assembly, without previous authorization, for the discussion of public affairs and for all other legitimate purposes, and the right of forming associations for purposes not contrary to law or good morals.

The rules governing the exercise of these rights shall be determined by law.

The domicile of Finnish citizens shall be inviolable. The conditions under which domiciliary searches may be ordered and carried out shall be determined by law.

The secrecy of postal, telegraphic, and telephonic communication shall be inviolable, except when otherwise provided by law.

No Finnish citizen shall be tried by any other court than that which has jurisdiction over him in accordance with the law.

Finnish and Swedish shall be the national languages of the Republic. The right of Finnish citizens to use their mother-tongue, whether Finnish or Swedish, before the courts and the administrative authorities, and to obtain from

them documents in such language, shall be guaranteed by law, so as to safeguard the rights of the Finnish population and the rights of the Swedish population of the country in accordance with identical principles. The State shall provide for the intellectual and economic needs of the Finnish and Swedish populations in accordance with identical principles.

These provisions concerning the general rights of Finnish citizens shall constitute no obstacle to the establishment by law of restrictions which are necessary in time of war or insurrection, and, in respect to persons in the military or naval service, at any time.

Every Finn, man or woman, has the right to the franchise at the age of twenty-four. The voters elect the President and the Diet.

The President and the Diet both may initiate legislation. The President may veto any Act of the Diet. If, after a General Election, the Diet passes the same Act again, the President's veto cannot be repeated ; the Act becomes law. Thus the President acts in effect like an Upper House. He can prevent the Diet acting in a hurry, and can make sure that its decisions are really in accordance with the popular will.

Both President and Diet may refer legislation to either the Supreme Court or the Supreme Adminis-

trative Court. The Presidents of both these Courts are appointed by the President, and subsequent members by the President on the advice of the existing members of the Court.

The Prime Minister and the Cabinet (called the Council of State) are, after the British system, responsible to the Diet.

The Council of State has attached to it a special law officer (the Chancellor of Justice), and he is appointed by the President.

The Diet has a special law officer (the Solicitor to the Diet), who is elected by its members in the same way as is the Speaker of the Diet. Both the Chancellor of Justice and the Solicitor to the Diet have the right to attend meetings of the Council of State and to call for any State papers.

There is provision for the arraignment of the President, or of any member of the Council of State, for acting contrary to law. The Chancellor of Justice has the responsibility of initiating proceedings; cases would go in the first instance to the Diet and finally to the Supreme Court.

The Diet appoints each year a Board of five auditors, who supervise the Budget and the administration of the Treasury.

What will be noted from this summary of the Finnish Constitution is the care that has been taken at every point to secure legal supervision. Not

only policy, but the details of administration can be checked at every point by a law officer. In addition to the Supreme Court and the Court of Administration, there are the Chancellor of Justice and the Solicitor of the Diet always on guard to see that the executive authority does not trespass on the rights of the people.

For the purposes of general administration Finland is divided into provinces, shires, and communes. Administrative districts, wherever circumstances permit, are formed so as to include populations speaking only one language, Finnish or Swedish, and so that the minority speaking the other language is as small as possible. The provinces are administered by governors. The administration of the communes is on the principle of local autonomy.

Every Finnish citizen must take part in the defence of the country. Every conscript, unless he otherwise desires, is, if possible, enrolled in a military unit the members of which speak his mother-tongue (Finnish or Swedish) and receives his instruction in that language. Finnish is the language of command in the armed forces.

References to religious liberty are frequent in the constitution. That is a new principle in Finnish life. Until recently, the Evangelical Lutheran Church, as the national Church, had

very extensive privileges, and it still retains some of them.

The first liberty of faith existing in Finland was that which, by royal ordinance, 1781, during the Swedish suzerainty, was granted to members of another Church who had migrated into the country. The native citizens of the country were, in accordance with the Privileges of the Clergy of 1723 and the Constitution, obliged to acknowledge the Evangelical Lutheran Church. With Russia as suzerain power (1809), the Greek-Catholic Church of Russia had its rights, but the Lutheran Church remained the State Church. After 1863 the need of more liberty was felt. A law of 1889 legalized Christian sects of other Protestant faiths than the Evangelical Lutheran. Following this law the Baptists and the Methodists formed their own legalized religious bodies. There was no general liberty of faith on account of the special position held by the Greek-Catholic Church, no one having the right to secede from that Church, which was protected by the Russian Government.

After the October revolution in Russia in 1905 the prospects of liberty of faith improved. The right of secession from the Greek-Catholic Church in Finland was admitted by Russian Imperial decree, 1906.

After the Russian revolution of March, 1917, a

proposal was put before the Finnish Diet introducing liberty of faith and conceding the right of Finnish subjects to be employed in Government service independently of creed. Liberty of faith was not, however, actually approved until 1923.

Now any person who has attained the age of eighteen years has the right to withdraw from any sect and to enter any other. A person who has not attained the age of eighteen years belongs to the same sect as his parents; if the parents do not belong to any sect, the same holds good of the child. If the parents belong to different sects, or if one of them does not acknowledge any sect, the child follows the father, unless the parents have agreed in writing that the child shall conform to the mother's faith. If the parents are not married to one another the child conforms to the faith of the mother, unless the father educates it.

No new monastic orders or nunneries may be established, and only Finnish citizens may be accepted as members of monasteries already existing in the country. Citizens who are not members of the Evangelical Lutheran or the Greek-Catholic Church, are not obliged to contribute to the payment of the clergy. Other religious bodies and their congregations are also exempt from paying rates and taxes for the purposes of the Evangelical Lutheran and the Greek-Catholic Churches. But

joint-stock companies and co-operative societies are not exempt from paying rates and taxes to the parish upon whose territory they are situated.

Only one new Church has asked for the right of founding a legalized religious body under the law (the Free Church of Finland), which in respect to creed scarcely differs from the Evangelical Lutheran Church. The greater part of those who secede from the national Church join no other.

Finnish party politics I do not propose to discuss. There are the divisions which are common to every European country between agrarian and industrial interests, between individualistic and socialistic ideals in economics. There are also special divisions arising out of the language question. On the balance Finland seems to pursue a fairly steady and a fairly reasonable political course, though some hold that industrial interests are sacrificed to agricultural, others that agricultural interests are sacrificed to industrial. On the language question there are extremists in both the Finnish and the Swedish camps. There is also a small extremist "Red" section infected with Russian Bolshevik ideas. But on the whole, prudence and caution rule, and individual liberty—with the exception of the liquor prohibition policy, which I shall deal with in another chapter—is well safeguarded.

CHAPTER IX

FINLAND'S FOREIGN POLICY AND DEFENCE SYSTEM

FINLAND, though from the point of view of population a small country, may play an important part to help or hinder that peaceful settlement of Europe which has made an auspicious beginning at Locarno. Her natural position makes her the strategic centre of the Baltic Sea, as has been recognized in the past by the military and naval leaders of more than one power. Her population, stubborn, courageous, intelligent, has proved on more than one occasion the possession of a high degree of military virtue, and is progressing rapidly in the development of those manufacturing industries which are part of the necessary equipment of a modern nation's defence system.

Admittedly to-day, Soviet Russia, committed by its social and political creed to the overthrow of all existing Governments, is the most serious potential menace to European peace. That creed in its full vigour is to-day certainly preached mainly for home consumption, and cannot be put into practice abroad for lack of power, but it is the

creed of the Soviet Commune. If the attempt ever were made to implement it, Finland would probably have to meet the first onslaught. Thus a Finnish foreign policy which involved either subservience to Soviet Russia or a tendency to irritate Soviet Russia would be a danger to European peace: in the one alternative by giving up a key pass to the enemy; in the other event by precipitating a struggle which is not actually inevitable, but may be avoided if it can be delayed. It will be of interest, therefore, to record the results of observations of the mind of the Finnish people regarding foreign policy, observations gleaned not so much from official sources as from leaders of industry, of finance, and from the general population.

The best method of defining what I judge to be Finnish public opinion on foreign policy will be by beginning with certain negative conclusions. In the first place, it may be confidently said that Finland is not afraid of Soviet Russia. I went to the country with the idea, more or less clearly formulated, of a somewhat forlorn and frightened little community, doomed to existence near a powerful ogre's castle, and living in constant dread of his power. That idea was very soon dissipated. The Finns have no affection for the Russian Government of to-day, and no great confidence in its goodwill. But also they have no very high

estimate of its power for mischief. The attitude towards Russia of the average Finn—the man in the street, or, rather, the man in the office or counting-house—is of careful precaution, but not of extravagant fear. He is inclined to point out, apparently very sensibly, that if the Russian revolution which put the Bolsheviks in power had been a national movement, representing an angry Russian people rising against an intolerable tyranny, it would almost certainly have produced some men of genius as soldiers, administrators, organizers, and, with their leadership, a new Russia might have been as formidable a menace to the rest of Europe as was post-revolutionary France. But, my typical Finn will point out, the Russian revolution was not such a national movement. It was a sordid episode of the Great War, having its origin not in the desire of a people eager for freedom to achieve the rights of self-government, but in the intrigue of a foreign power to destroy the war capacity of Russia. It was not a spontaneous uprising of the Russian people, but the imposition on the Russian people of a foreign organized tyranny in place of a domestic tyranny, and has destroyed much Russian genius without evoking any. A real Russian revolution might have produced a Napoleon. The *ersatz* revolution which Germany was able to organize in Russia, once it had fulfilled the task of destruction

for which it was organized by Germany, has not shown much capacity for reconstructive organization. For the leaders of Soviet Russia their Finnish neighbours (accustomed to measure things by a Western European standard) have no vast respect. The "genius" of these leaders may be acclaimed among a certain section of British Communists, founding their estimate either on ignorance or on a less disinterested motive, but in the eyes of most Finns the Bolshevik revolutionary "giants" seem very small folk indeed.

Thus the feeling towards Russia is not of fear, but of stringent precaution against either open attack or furtive conspiracy.

Against open attack Finland has recruited, under a system of universal compulsory short-term service, an army which, so far as I can found a judgment on a necessarily limited observation, is a competent one. It is certainly free from that mistake in tactical policy, of which older armies are often more or less justly accused, of imagining that the next war will be exactly like the last war. The governing principle of the Finnish military organization is that if it ever had to take the field it would be under conditions quite unlike those of the last war, and it is trying to arrive at as intelligent an anticipation as is possible of what may be the future conditions of warfare in Northern Europe.

For the Army, men are conscripted under the General Military Service Act. It includes (a) Troops of the line (standing army and reserves); (b) the home reserves. The Supreme Command of the military forces of Finland is vested in the President of the Republic, but in time of war he may entrust the command to another person. Authority in the Army is vested in (1) the War Department of the Council of State (the Ministry of War): Chief, the Minister of War; (2) the Military Staff (the Staff of the General in Command): Chief, the Military Commander; and (3) the General Staff: Chief, the Chief of the General Staff.

The Regular Army consists of:

(a) The 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Divisions, in each of which there are three infantry regiments, a field artillery regiment, a special bicycle (ski) battalion, and special machine-gun companies.

(b) The Jaeger Brigade, in which there are three separate Jaeger battalions, a Jaeger artillery regiment, and a special machine-gun company.

(c) The Cavalry Brigade, in which there are two regiments of cavalry.

(d) The Brigade of Technical Troops, to which belong the field telegraph battalion, wireless troops, reconnoitring battalion, motor battalion, and railway battalion.

(e) The Heavy Artillery Regiment.

(f) The Tank Regiment, and

(g) The Air Force, which comprises an air battalion, three aerial divisions, aerodrome staff, observation balloon company, and aerial training school.

The Coast Defence Force is made up of the coast fleet, the mine-sweeping fleet, and three regiments of coastal artillery.

There are various training schools: the Cadet School, the School of Marines, the Reserve Officers' School, and the Infantry, Artillery, and Cavalry Schools.

Finland has also a Civic Guard. The Civic Guard, at a first glance, would appear to be a mere duplication of the Regular Army, kept in existence as a kind of compliment to the old White Guard, which withstood the Red revolt in Finland. But there is something more behind its organization than that. The Civic Guard, as regards military organization, is a replica of the Army, but to join its ranks there is, in effect, a political test. No one with "Red" views in politics can join the Civic Guard. It is confined to absolutely dependable citizens. "Red cells" might be formed in the conscript army by revolutionary agents. The work would be in vain, as the Civic Guard would be rallied to the defence of law and order.

The Civic Guard—officially known as the Pro-

protective Corps—has its own Commander-in-Chief, who is appointed by the President of the Republic. He acts under the Ministry of War and is assisted by the Supreme Staff of the Protective Corps. Appropriate special departments of this staff (Military, Administrative, Financial, War Materials, Sanitary and Artillery Departments) are each responsible for the organization of their respective departments.

The Protective Corps is divided into twenty-one Protective Corps Districts, each commanded by a District Commander. Each District Commander is assisted by a District Staff to which four persons enjoying the confidence of the Protective Corps are elected for a year at a time, and a District Commander's Office, which conducts district business concerning military and physical training and administrative and economic questions.

Under the direct control of the Commander-in-Chief of the Protective Corps come the District Commanders and the Training Courses for Protective Corps Officers. The District Commanders are the immediate superiors of the Local Commanders, and are responsible for the training of non-commissioned officers in their districts as well as for the military and physical training of the local corps in general. The membership of the Protective Corps of Finland is about 100,000.

The Civic Guard had its origin at the outbreak of the World War, when the hope of freedom dawned amongst the Finnish population. At this time the Finnish Regular Army had been disbanded and the possession of military rifles was prohibited, as Russia was, naturally, not confident that the Finns would fight on her side.

The preparatory step was to procure trained officers: 2,000 young men left their own country in order to acquire abroad the necessary military training.

When, in 1917, the March revolution destroyed Imperial Russia, the pioneers of Finnish independence judged the moment ripe for the establishment of military organizations throughout the country. To this end a central organization called "A. K." and, subordinate to it, a working section under the name of "The New Wood Office" were founded. The country was divided into twenty-three districts (roughly corresponding to the present districts of the Civic Guards). In some districts an officer from the earlier Finnish military forces discharged the function of district commander, but in most cases this office was in the hands of a civilian. The district administration saw that military organizations were founded in each community. At first these worked secretly under the name of "Fire Brigades" or "Sporting Societies,"

but at the end of the year 1917 they began to appear quite openly as Civic Guards.

When, in November, the Bolshevik revolution overwhelmed Russia, some of the leaders of the Finnish labouring classes believed it to be to their advantage to join hands with the new masters of Russia. They forced many of the working classes to form throughout the country "Red Guards." With the help of Russia their intention was to set up a Communist Finland. The Civic Guards took the field against this effort to "Bolshevize" Finland. The Government declared the Civic Guards to be State troops, and they were finally successful in overcoming "the Reds."

In August, 1918, the relations between the Civic Guards and the State were fixed by statute. The Civic Guards were to be voluntary military organizations—acting according to directions given by the Government and composed of citizens zealous for the maintenance of the lawful social order—for the promotion of the defensive capacity the nation and as a protection for the constitution of the State. They were to give military training and also to cultivate gymnastics, athletic sports, etc., in order to make them capable of supporting the standing army and, in case of riots or disorders, of helping the civil authorities.

In 1919 the Civic Guards received their own

Commander-in-Chief and military staff. In 1921 the Civic Guards were made directly subordinate to the President of the Republic, who appoints the Commander-in-Chief as well as the heads of the headquarters staff and of its sections.

The Civic Guard regulations declare that the objects of the Corps include the promotion of gymnastics and athletics. Much attention is devoted to this in practice. The organization has been responsible for the opening of numerous athletic grounds and the training of 900 gymnastic leaders and 700 athletic instructors. Different units held in 1921 about 1,000 competitions in which some 30,000 men took part. The inculcation and encouragement of civic virtue among the people also has a place in their programme.

Finland is not disposed to adopt towards Russia any attitude of aggression. Like many countries since that Treaty of Versailles, which M. Clemenceau is said to have described as "a stern and just peace which will rage for many years," Finland has frontier grievances. It claims that the Karelian provinces of Soviet Russia should be Finnish and not Russian, but, so far as I can judge, is content to let this question rest indefinitely, and certainly does not dream of any aggressive action to establish the claim. The national pride of Finland is very assertive, but it is a pride combined with prudence.

In 1920 the peace of Dorpat was concluded with Russia, by which Finland received the territory of Petsamo, thus extending her boundary to the Arctic Ocean. That settled the chief outstanding question with Russia. At the same time Russia undertook to grant certain rights of self-government to Finnish nationals in the province of Karelia. That undertaking apparently has not been kept, but Finland seems content to wait until Russia has a change of heart and is not actively pressing this question. Present-day relations with Russia are "correct," to use the diplomatic word, and Finland is entering into friendly trade relations with that country.

Finland is not willing to commit its national destinies to any combination of Baltic States. Indeed, it resents very strongly being classed as a Baltic State; has friendly sympathy with Latvia and Esthonia, but has some fear that their ultimate destiny may be to become absorbed again in a future Russian Empire. Finland would admit a sentimental desire to help them to avoid this fate, but I judge would not do anything on their behalf which would compromise Finland.

There is evidence of a great deal of influence having been directed lately towards bringing Finland into the orbit of what was French foreign policy before Locarno, but Finland has steadily

refused any suggestions to link up her fate with that of Poland. Sharing with Poland a resolution to resist Russian aggression, she is yet not nearly as confident of Poland's discretion and good sense as she is of her own. It would not be at all in accordance with her determination to make a good place for herself in the world to bind herself to join in a Polish quarrel against Russia. If Russia were to attack Poland without provocation, Finland would probably feel that her interests were attacked, and act accordingly. But she will not bind herself to Poland.

One more negative. Finland has no intention of becoming, in any sense, an appanage of Germany. During the Red troubles in Finland, Germany gave valuable help to the White Forces of Finland, and assisted materially to quell the Communist revolution. When the Germans showed an inclination to regard a German protectorate of Finland as the logical sequence of this help, the Finns at once took alarm. If the result of the World War had been a German victory, the Germans would have found Finland not the least troublesome of their new responsibilities. As it was, when the German power was broken, the Finns took scrupulous care to eliminate German influences. What gratitude there had been for German help during the Red troubles was cancelled

out by the evidence the Germans gave that they intended to exact, as a reward for their assistance, a political and economic exploitation of Finland.

So much for what Finland does not intend. On the positive side, Finland, during the last couple of years, has followed the attitude of a prudent young lady who is not without wooers; who does not intend to marry for money, but who has a distaste for men without means. She has carefully surveyed the international position, and has concluded that there are two pillars of security in the post-war world on which a young ambitious nation, starting in life, can depend, and that they are Great Britain and the United States. To keep good friends with them, politically and financially, seems to be the guiding note of her foreign policy. At the same time, in spite of a national pride which does not err on the side of modesty, Finland appears to think that her own position may not be quite important enough to merit the degree of consideration that she wishes to enjoy, and is setting her thoughts towards some form of close *entente* with Sweden, Norway, and Denmark. Such a Scandinavian *bloc*, she thinks, would carry some appreciable weight in international councils, and would be regarded by both Great Britain and the United States as a valuable agent for peace.

These conclusions about the trend of Finnish

public opinion in matters of foreign policy are founded chiefly on talks with private citizens. The average Finn is keenly interested in foreign politics. He has a highly developed national consciousness, is eager to see his country "make good" in her new career as a fully independent nation, but is intensely cautious. There is good reason for confidence that this Switzerland of the North will play her part in the Baltic both with courage and prudence.

Finland is a member of the League of Nations, and has had the satisfaction of carrying to a favourable issue before that world tribunal the question with Sweden as to the ownership of the Aland Islands.

This archipelago, consisting of about 6,500 islands, is on the borders of the Baltic Sea and the Gulf of Bothnia. There are 30,000 inhabitants, of whom most are Swedish-speaking—descendants of those Swedish Vikings who settled there after the year 800. When Finland was united with Sweden, the Aland Islands ecclesiastically and secularly belonged to the administration of Finland. In the year 1809 they passed to the suzerainty of the Russian Empire with the rest of Finland, but continued to belong to the Grand Duchy of Finland administratively. At the close of the World War Sweden claimed the islands and Finland contested

the claim. At the instance of Great Britain the question was brought before the Council of the League of Nations for consideration, and this Council in 1921 proposed a compromise by which the Aland Islands should remain united with Finland, but that certain securities for the protection of the Swedish population of the islands should be granted. The Diet of Finland approved this, and granted a broad self-government to the Aland Islands (a legislative Diet of their own; Swedish as official language). The question of the Aland Islands was the first international case which the League of Nations took up with a positive result. In October, 1921, at Geneva, a convention for the neutralization of the Aland Islands was drawn up between Great Britain, France, Italy, and seven nations of the Baltic coasts.

CHAPTER X

FINLAND'S SOCIAL CONDITIONS

FINLAND is well worthy of the study of the sociologists of other countries. It is a country where, on the whole, a good balance has been struck between freedom and licence; where the respective interests of Capital and of Labour in the production of national wealth are being considered in a fair spirit; where there are no very rich and few very poor; where the standards of education are high and education is not interpreted in the narrow sense of solely "book-learning"; where there is an excellent system of co-operation and a careful study is made of the preservation of the national physique. One could write a useful book on any one of the chief social questions as they are answered in Finland: on the position of women in society; on the co-operative movement; on the education, mental and physical, of the race. I can only attempt here some brief notes on a few salient points.

Finland is proud of the fact that it was the first country in Europe to enfranchise women, and the history of the women's movement there since 1890

(when it had its first origins in a revivalist religious movement) is interesting.

Finland's first woman author, Sara Wacklin, in a work, "A Hundred Reminiscences from Ostrobothnia" (1844), brought to notice the hard lot of woman and the necessity for better education of girls. She organized boarding schools for girls in Oulu, Abo, and Helsingfors. She planned a home of refuge for women in Helsingfors, but the plan raised indignant opposition and fell through.

Fredrika Runeberg, the wife of the national poet, J. L. Runeberg, also took an interest in women's reformatory work, and advocated extended education for women, the improvement of the married woman's position, and the right for woman to choose her own work and obtain professional training. Fredrika Bremer also brought her literary and intellectual influence to bear on public opinion regarding feminist questions. Another pioneer was Adelaide Ehrnrooth. In her articles in the *Helsingfors Dagblad*, as well as in her novels, she advanced the following claims: parents should be obliged to give their daughters the same education and professional training as their sons; women should have the same possibilities as men to obtain a livelihood and reputation; in matters of morals husband and wife should be equal before the law.

It will be noted that, as in England, the first step in the feminist campaign was an advocacy of higher education for women. Also, as in England, the battle was not left to be waged by women alone. Notable men, such as the poet Topelius, the journalist J. W. Snellman, assisted. Then Mrs. Minna Canth brought to the controversy arguments from Scandinavian reformers. She described in her works the position in which the law places a helpless woman bound to a bad husband. She pictured with realism the poverty and misery in working-class homes and woman's inferior position even in educated families. The discussion of women's rights, which had become general through Ibsen's dramas, widely read and acted in Finland, won new encouragement from these Finnish works.

Legislation soon followed the feminist agitation. A Bill granting adult's standing to women at the age of twenty-five, and a Bill abolishing guardian's rights, were passed in 1863. In 1878 a Bill, granting equal rights of inheritance to brother and sister, was passed. Women who had their own property were given the municipal franchise.

A few women soon succeeded in entering the University. One of these, Emma Irene Astrom, passed the examination in Philosophy in 1882 and received the degree of Master in that same year.

In the same year the women of Finland collected funds for a girls' school from which the pupils could matriculate to the University. At first women were allowed only by special permission to matriculate into the University, but later obtained this right on the same conditions as men.

In 1884 the Finnish Women's Association was founded. It worked, by raising the standard of education, to bring the women of the people into contact with modern civilization, and, at the same time, carried on an agitation for legislative reforms. In 1892 a new association was founded for the protection of women, the Women's Union of Finland. The Union worked to improve the laws regarding the position of illegitimate children, married women's right to hold property, and women's political franchise. To overcome the lack of knowledge of domestic science, the Women's Association in 1891 founded a Pedagogic School of Housekeeping. In 1899 (at the time when the Russian policy of oppression against Finland began) the Martha Association was founded to assist in this work of encouraging the study of domestic economy. Its purpose was to improve the general knowledge and prosperity in the homes; and it is active in teaching gardening and domestic economy. In 1907 yet another organization was founded, the Finnish Women's League, the pur-

pose of which was to raise the civic standard of women.

In 1906 the franchise was won for women, and in the new House of Representatives of 1907 there were nineteen women members. Since then there has been rapid progress. To-day Finnish women are in a position of complete equality with men, except that they cannot exercise the functions of a clergyman or a judge. All other professions or callings are open to them. Nevertheless, most of the early women's organizations continue in existence, and there are some new ones. The chief work of these organizations is now not so much agitation as education—to teach household economy, the care of children, nursing, gardening, and gymnastics.

One particular feminist organization is a legacy of the part the women of Finland took in the War of Liberation. Of that work, the chief of the "White Army," General Mannerheim, said :

"Among those who have been mentioned in despatches for heroic deeds are also many women. Some of them have been decorated for valour, others have been under enemy fire courageously preparing food for the troops ; others have, by their hardiness and bravery, inspired the men with still greater courage ; others have, under heavy fire, carried wounded to the ambulances. But the

despatches do not tell of the self-sacrificing, tireless work which Finland's women did during the War of Liberation; do not mention the dangers and privations they suffered. The men who died of their wounds cannot tell of the loving hands which to the last tended them. How many women did not expose themselves to dangers which were connected with the distribution of arms in the districts occupied by 'Red' troops; how many did not endure terrible suffering when accompanying the troops during their advances?"

Finland's women have now an organization, "Lotta Svard," devoted to assistance in the country's defence. This organization is attached to the Civic Guard. Lotta Svard works for the equipment of the Civic Guards, especially in the matter of clothing, and looks after the feeding of the troops during manœuvres, etc. It also organizes courses in nursing and housekeeping. Another important form of activity is the organization of summer courses in gymnastics, nursing, the management of field kitchens, and civic questions.

Supplementary to the feminist organizations are several children's welfare societies, such as the Society of General Mannerheim for the protection of infants. It looks after infant hygiene, children's clubs, children's agricultural schools, etc. Another society, which was founded in 1922 by Madame

Stahlberg, the wife of the President, finds foster-parents for Finnish orphans. Another society, founded in 1907, has for its special care the Christian education of young people. The Association of Martha, founded 1899, in addition to its work in educating adult women in household and gardening science, has special classes for children.

Co-operation helps Finland considerably to a happy social life, both in keeping down prices for consumers and in helping producers to market their goods profitably. The first Finnish Co-operative Society dates from 1889—the Helsingfors General Provisions Society. It served as a model for a co-operative movement amongst the factory workers of Tammerfors and other consumers' co-operative societies. The great Pellervo Society was founded at Helsingfors in 1899.

The legal status of consumers' co-operative societies was established by the Co-operation Laws of 1901.

The co-operative society Elanto was founded in 1905. It began with a bakery, and besides its original trade, has now opened various other stores—milk, meat, alcohol-free beer, grocery, drugs, drapery, boot shops, restaurants, and cafés. Elanto has its own dairy, its own sausage factory, its own brewery, and a factory for making jams and syrups. As a summer recreation home for its employees,

Elanto has bought the beautiful island of Sumparn. A spacious building has been erected on this island as a hall for meetings and festivals. The Sumparn island serves during the summer as a day-refuge, where children of the employees can spend the bright summer days, playing under the care of guardians.

The membership of the consumers' co-operative societies has reached 371,000, or 10 per cent. of the total population (usually only one member of a family joins a society). The desire to serve their members on the best possible terms has led the Finnish co-operative societies to enter the field of production. Now the societies own altogether 221 productive enterprises—bakeries, breweries, tanneries, leather factories, sausage and curing factories, farms, flour-mills, shoe repair workshops, etc. There are two great central co-operative institutions. The movement has its own Fire Insurance Association for the insurance of the property of co-operative societies and their members, a Pension Institution, an Insurance Institution against disablement, old age, and sickness.

What is called "labour legislation"—laws designed to protect workmen against harsh conditions and contracts—was retarded in Finland during the Russian domination. But since 1917 there has been



A GIRL FROM KARELIA

a special Social Ministry, and since 1920 a special department of the Ministry of Justice, to deal with social legislation, and arrears are being rapidly overtaken. The eight-hours day has been legalized but does not apply to the agricultural industry ; insurance against accidents is provided for, and attention is being given to insurance against sickness and old age. Child labour and female labour and night labour are regulated. Workers have a right to a seven days' holiday on full pay each year (this in addition to Sundays and festivals). Professional workers and functionaries as well as artisans are organized in unions.

The educational system of Finland is excellent. There is practically no illiteracy, and every young citizen has a chance of obtaining a University education. There are some especially interesting features in the Finnish educational system : one is the Folk High Schools, which are a development of the Scandinavian institutions of the same type. When, after the short summer, winter comes with the end of October, it renders impossible all further outdoor work in the country, except the lumber work in the forests. A great number of rural workers have before them the prospect of a long winter with little or no employment. But in November the Folk High Schools open. Thither the young men and women of the rural districts

turn to spend the six winter months from November to May in institutes where the weaving shuttle and the carving chisel will alternate with the pen and the book. The Folk High Schools are organized as "mixed" schools: so the home life is continued under the most natural of conditions, young men and women working and playing together.

The Folk Schools follow two main types: one in which the cultural aim is uppermost, as is the case with those which are founded and in part supported by the various religious organizations, and one in which there is a strongly vocational training—for men in agriculture, for women in domestic science. These, in cases, have developed into institutions, still organized on the lines of the Folk High Schools, specializing as agricultural schools, dairy schools, gardening schools, and the like. Little is required of the applicant for admission. Here and there conditions are imposed, the severest of which is that the candidate must have spent one year in recognized agricultural labour. Usually it is but necessary to satisfy the Director of good character. A sum of about 10s. pays the instruction fees for the two terms. A further £1 pays for board and keep.

To quote from one of their official documents:—

The aim of the Folk High Schools is, upon a base of Christian and patriotic educational work among young men

and women, to provide such stimulation and enlightenment as is likely to train the students into warm-hearted, nobly thinking beings, imbued with a love for the fatherland. The school seeks through instruction, lectures, exercises, communal life and converse, to strengthen the cordial human affections, to intensify the understanding, to purify the imagination, to confirm the character, to provide the pupil with a practically useful insight and dexterity, with a special reference to the promotion of interest in a rational rural economy.

The Folk High Schools have a State grant of about £15,000 a year, with, in many cases, substantial assistance also from the rural administrations. Supervision is exercised by the Government Department for Elementary Education. No one of the nine provinces of Finland is without a school: the Aland Islands have one; the number rises to eleven in Nylands; the small province of Wiborg has six, of which two are situated on the western shores of Ladoga, facing, as outposts of a humane civilization, the desolation of Russia.

The division of work in one of these schools per week (there are twenty-three school weeks in the year) is as follows :

	Hours.
(A) Sloyd (6 hours), drawing (2 hours) ...	8
Stock-rearing, etc.	6
Theory of agriculture	4
Natural science (chemistry, physics, botany) ...	4
Dairying and gardening theory	1

				HOURS.
	Forestry and building construction	...	...	1
	Rural economy	...	...	2
	Geometry, surveying, levelling	...	...	2
(B)	Discussions	...	...	2
(C)	The mother-tongue	...	...	4
	History and literature	...	...	3
	Economic geography	...	...	1
	Local government and political economy	...	...	2
(D)	Arithmetic	...	...	3
	Book-keeping	...	...	2
	Hygiene	...	...	1
	Gymnastics	...	...	1
	Song	...	...	1

Primary school, secondary school, and University education flourish in Finland. The three Universities have yearly increasing numbers of students. The great extent of the international recognition of Finnish scholarship gives proof of the soundness of the country's educational system.

Finland is wise enough to see to the physical as well as the mental training of the sons and daughters of the race. Gymnastics are an obligatory subject of instruction, and there is a Chair of Gymnastics at Helsingfors University.

Professor Ivar Wilschman, first President of Finland's Association for Gymnastics and Athletics, tells how in 1870 the special Finnish School of Gymnastics was founded:

A young Finlander, Viktor Heikel, had thoroughly studied the gymnastic conditions ruling in Sweden, Denmark,

and Germany. Returning to Finland he created an altogether new system for men's gymnastics. This Finnish system, like Ling's system, is founded on physiological grounds, but has other points of view than the physiological, in particular the pedagogical. While the programmes of gymnastics in many places in Sweden are alike both as to contents and form, no matter whether intended for the use of boys or girls, for soldiers or children, the Finnish system demands that the programme shall be formulated according to different ages and sexes. It pays attention to the nature of the child who demands variety in all activities. In accordance with this the gymnastic exercises are arranged so that there is always something new, interesting, and corresponding to the stage of development of the child.

The success of Finland's gymnastic system is shown by the success of that country at recent Olympic games. Finland came third in athletics at the Olympic games of Stockholm and second at those of Antwerp, being surpassed only by the United States of America, and has since maintained a great reputation in the world of athletics.

CHAPTER XI

PROHIBITION IN FINLAND

FINLAND has adopted a policy of prohibition of all alcoholic liquors. I sought the reason why, and also how Prohibition was working in practice.

As to the reason why, it was difficult to find a satisfactory explanation. Official Finland is inclined to be apologetic to strangers on the subject. One explanation, more "political" than adequate, is that the Prohibition policy is a legacy of the Russian domination of the country. Another explanation, that the Finn when he "has drink taken" is a particularly dangerous type, was sometimes advanced. It did not seem to have much validity. Taking him on the whole, the Finn is an exceptionally well-balanced national type, very prudent, very thrifty, with a good sense of public order. Some individuals, as in other countries, of course, become quarrelsome under the influence of alcohol, but it is a libel to allege that the Finn is a specially wild man.

What I concluded to be the real motive for the Prohibition policy is the passionate desire of the Finnish people to get on in the world. "Ourselves

for ourselves" is so much in their minds that, were it not for their very prudent and practical nature, I should be inclined to think of them as "Sinn Finners." They have the idea that Prohibition will mean greater efficiency, that a total-abstaining population would get more work done, would get on more quickly in the arena of economic athletics. The Finn is determined that Finland *shall* get on. Hence, in my view, the "dry" Finland.

Now that they have national independence, the Finns think of little else but of "making good" as a people. They aim at the *n*th degree of efficiency. Prohibition seems to them to be part of the machinery of efficiency, on the same lines as scientific "lay-outs" for factories, an up-to-date banking method which strives to combine the best of the British and American models, and thoroughly modern transport, lighting, and drainage systems. The Finn became a Prohibitionist chiefly because he was an efficiency enthusiast. I think he is already disappointed with the results.

In an investigation of Prohibition in Finland I have sought to be fair and not to overstress the case. But it is as well to confess at the outset that I have a reasoned antagonism to the idea of Prohibition whatever its results. Prohibition, it seems

to me, rests its case on the fallacy that if a thing is capable of being abused it should be abolished. The plausible appearance of logic in this will not, however, bear a moment's intelligent examination. Almost everything on earth can be abused, and a case, equal in validity to the case for Prohibition, could be made out for abolishing almost everything. Speech, for instance. Man's first innocency has been sadly spoilt by the practice of speech. The curses, lies, seductions, treacheries, that language has made possible ! Abolish language, make mankind dumb, and how much sin would disappear ! The logical Prohibitionist should scorn any half measures designed to teach man (and woman) not to abuse speech ; to speak, but not to slander, betray, nor blaspheme. That is like drinking wine without getting drunk. The faith of the logical Prohibitionist is that if a thing can be abused its *use* should be abolished.

Or consider drapery, which is woman's favourite intoxicant. True, indulgence in it has never come to the stage of women leaning up against drapery bars and "shouting" toques for one another ; I have never heard a woman asking another to have a pair of silk stockings with her before lunch by way of an *apéritif*. But on an impartial summing-up, quite as much of the wickedness of the world can be traced to over-indulgence in drapery as to over-

indulgence in drink. The woman who, from feebleness of will, cannot regulate her appetite for adornment, but must indulge in drunken bouts of fal-de-vals and furbelows, not only has her own feet set on a slippery path but ordinarily is dragging someone else, sometimes several else, down with her to the pit of sin. There is no argument founded on the miseries caused by an abuse of alcoholic liquor which cannot be applied with equal force to the abuse of feminine adornment. If the logical remedy for one is the prohibition of liquor the logical remedy for the other is the prohibition of drapery.

Admittedly, the absolute prohibition of all clothing would have its inconveniences, its indelicacies. But if the prohibition of alcohol were brought to its logical conclusion, it would be at least as inconvenient and indelicate. The liquor Prohibitionist who seeks to banish alcohol from the stomach of mankind will find as he pursues his aim that he cannot stop at whisky and wine and beer and arrak and kava. It will be possible for the man or woman of average healthy digestion to make his or her own alcoholic stimulant on the premises, so to speak. The average person needs only to eat sugar and he at once sets up a little private still in the part of him which a Scottish cannibal would use for haggis. This provides

within a few hours, by the ordinary process of digestive fermentation, an alcoholic stimulant. (It explains why teetotallers are usually much devoted to sweetmeats.) Prohibition in its ultimate form will have to arm its sumptuary police with stomach pumps, and when a citizen is seen abroad with an appearance of cheerfulness that hints at alcoholic stimulation, arrest will follow and effective examination to ascertain if illicit distillation is going on within.

How does Prohibition work in Finland? In the first place, it does not prohibit, in the sense of preventing a fairly general use of alcoholic liquors. The geographical conditions make easy the work of smugglers. The traveller from Sweden (which is not a Prohibition country) voyaging to Helsingfors, the capital of Finland, passes through at least a thousand islands which are ideal depots for smugglers. If he goes by another route from Sweden to the Finnish ports of Abo or Hango, he will see a thousand and a hundred islands, which offer the best facilities for small motor-boat traffic. The Gulf of Finland and the Baltic Sea are practically tideless. The islands are chiefly of granite, with deep water right up to their edges and with hosts of little sheltered coves. Liquor can be landed within a few miles of Helsingfors, or a few miles of Hango or of Abo, or of any other

of the principal ports, with the very smallest fear of detection. Smugglers need not confine themselves to one base or a score of bases: they have the choice of thousands. The task of the revenue officials is the task of looking for needles in a barn full of hay.

Thus both casual smuggling and organized smuggling are easy. The casual smuggler is not a very great factor. Indeed, the Government of Finland is not very rigorous in discouraging him. The country is anxious to encourage tourist traffic, and the very polite examination of baggage assures a tourist that he can bring into the country what spiritual comfort he may think he requires during a short stay. Further, the Government allows the supply of wine and spirits on doctors' certificates through the chemists' shops. A doctor's certificate is not difficult to obtain, and it permits the holder to purchase wine or whisky in reasonable quantities and at a reasonable price. This provision through the chemists' shops of wine and spirits undoubtedly enables restaurants and hotels by subterfuge to obtain small stocks of alcoholic liquor. In addition, there is some casual smuggling incidental to the ordinary trade activities of the country. The coal boats from England, for example, almost invariably hide a few cases of whisky among their cargo. This liquor generally finds its way into the

hands of private consumers, but some of it goes to the restaurants and hotels.

One may get liquor at almost any hotel or restaurant if prepared to pay the price for it. In my experience, a bottle of claret at a restaurant or hotel cost 25s. It varied in quality from wine honestly worth about 4s. to wine worth 8s. The quality varied, but the price was a standard one. Champagne cost about 50s. a bottle. A hotel porter can (illegally) provide a guest with a bottle of spirits for consumption in his private room for about 35s. In this case, again, the price seemed invariable, whatever the quality of the liquor, whether bad gin or good whisky or brandy. Nor is it impossible to get spirits in retail quantities at the hotels and restaurants. You pay 5s. for a whisky-and-soda at a good restaurant.

These minor evasions of the Prohibition law, which allow the private citizen to keep up a small surreptitious cellar, or to obtain, with the help of a friendly medical certificate, a regular supply from a chemist, or to buy alcoholic drinks at hotels and restaurants by paying famine prices, are not of very serious importance from the point of view of the Prohibitionist, who can be happy with the thought that your drink costs you more; nor from that of the private citizen, who is robbed, but at least gets fairly good liquor. The loss of revenue to

the State and the encouragement of law-breaking are the most serious penalties that Finland pays for this casual smuggling.

It is when the organized smuggling comes under investigation that the seriousness of the menace to Finland's future of the Prohibition policy is revealed. This is a "sudden death" trade. Its raw material is white spirit of 96 per cent. strength, the consumption of which has poisonous effects.

I have referred to the Finnish passion for efficiency. It crops out in a melancholy fashion in regard to this smuggling. The claim is made (and is probably justified) that the organized smuggling is more efficient than in the United States. It employs a fleet of fast motor-boats. When the Government Excise Service acquired faster motor-boats they were put out of action almost as soon as they came into the service. The smugglers do not hesitate to shoot, though in view of the geographical facilities and the speed of their boats, shooting is rarely a necessity. Their motor-boats pick up the stuff a little outside territorial waters at night, and within a few minutes are lost in the maze of the islands surrounding the chief ports.

Already many farmers and fishermen are giving up their old work to engage in the lucrative white spirit traffic. The fishermen of Finland are an exceedingly virile and adventurous class. The

fishing that they carry on during the winter months, pushing far out on the frozen waters and running constant risks of being cut off on ice-floes, calls for great hardihood and daring. These folk are attracted by the great rewards that liquor smuggling brings and chiefly provide the personnel of the industry.

Within a radius of five miles of the centre of Helsingfors one night I got into the outskirts of a little action between smugglers and the Excise Service. Judging from the amount of machine-gun and rifle firing, it was quite a brisk affair, but nothing resulted in the way of a seizure. Seizures, in fact, are difficult. The importation of liquor by these means is practically impossible to check.

The smugglers used to deal with manufacturers of white spirit in Esthonia. Then German commercial enterprise discovered this good market and supplanted the Esthonian supply by cutting the rates. The German stuff arrives in tins which, in shape and capacity, are exactly like those in which kerosene is supplied in bulk. For retail purposes there is supplied a special can, holding a litre, which fits neatly into the breast-pocket of a coat. The retail consumer is charged the equivalent of four shillings for a litre. The special can is given in. Also there is no charge for the cork—which has to be a good quality cork to prevent leakage. The stuff

has such a reek that a very small leakage would betray the carrier for yards around.

There are practically no difficulties in obtaining supplies. As a visitor to the country, though ignorant of the language, I was able, within a half-hour's visit to a particular island, to learn the whereabouts of a "shop." This was a neat little villa surrounded by a good garden. Having learnt the procedure, I did not go to the front door, but passed through to the back garden, where there was a fairly extensive poultry run. All the fowls, I noted, wore the white feathers of a blameless life. Knocking at the door of a shed in the poultry yard, admission was at once granted. No questions were asked; the kerosene can of spirit was produced, the litre can was filled, carefully corked, and handed over for 35 marks (the equivalent of about four shillings). For this sum I obtained enough white spirit to poison half a dozen ordinary men.

Advice on how to turn this stuff into something drinkable was easily obtainable. There are two favoured methods. By mixing the litre of spirit with five litres of water and a little essence of vanilla, a liquor is obtained somewhat more powerful and infinitely more mischievous than low-grade whisky. The other method is to add a teaspoonful of the raw spirit to a glass of tea made in the Russian fashion.

The effect of drinking the mixture is a sudden and unprovided drunkenness. I have seen men drop as if dead from its effects. Habitual indulgence in it has a definite effect on the eyes. You can pick out addicts by their inflamed eyelids.

For the poorer population of Finland it is the only alcoholic drink available. No one without a fairly large income can afford to obtain sound alcoholic drink. Anyone can obtain a supply of "sudden death" in the ingeniously designed flasks.

A statistical examination of the effects of Prohibition in Finland is easy, for Finland, being out for efficiency, knows the value of exact statistical records. Before the era of Prohibition in Finland, the consumption of alcohol per head was not very great. In 1890 the Finlander consumed per year, per head of population, 3·47 litres of spirits and 8·24 litres of beer. In 1900 these figures had increased a little. In 1910 they had fallen; the consumption figures then were 2·01 litres of spirits per inhabitant and 9·8 litres of beer.

The first effect of the Prohibition policy was to bring the consumption figures down to vanishing point. But since 1918 they have been steadily increasing. As before mentioned, Finland allows a certain legal consumption, supplied through the chemists' shops on doctors' prescriptions. In 1922 the *legal* consumption of spirits reached about one-



third of the amount consumed in 1910 per head of population. The figures of the confiscation of spirits by the Excise authorities show the growth of the flood of white spirit. In 1920, 98,000 litres of pure alcohol were seized by the Excise authorities; in 1923 the amount seized was 488,000 litres. This was certainly not due to the authorities being more successful in stopping the traffic. It was due to the fact that the stream of poison flowing to the frontiers of the country had grown enormously in volume. In 1920 it was a trickle; in 1923 it was becoming a flood.

Glance at the criminal statistics of Finland to see how they have fared under the Prohibition policy. Taking a five years' period between 1896 and 1900, the average yearly convictions for murder were 18, for manslaughter 52, for homicide by imprudence (Finnish law recognizes three degrees of homicide) 22. During the years 1920-21-22 the average convictions for murder were 98, for manslaughter 139, and for homicide by imprudence 47. If the incidence of crimes of violence can be linked up with the question of the consumption of alcoholic liquors, it is evident that Finland under the Prohibition policy does not fare well. The number of convictions for murder has increased by over 400 per cent., and for all other forms of manslaughter the number has also largely increased.

Still more significant are the figures showing the convictions for drunkenness. For the years 1896-1900 the average convictions for drunkenness were 6,900 per year. In 1920 there were 21,184 convictions for drunkenness, in 1921 there were 30,731, and in 1922, 35,916 convictions for drunkenness. This crime under the Prohibition policy has increased by over 400 per cent.

The effects of Prohibition in Finland, in my judgment, have been—

1. To substitute for the consumption of pure wine, beer, and matured spirituous liquors, the consumption of white spirit of a very deleterious character.

2. A large increase in crimes of violence.

3. A very large increase in convictions for drunkenness.

4. To divert a considerable section of the population from farming and fishing to illegal smuggling as an industry.

To turn to some lighter aspects of the question, Finland does its best to pretend about drinks. You can get all kinds of mixtures known as "Port," "Madeira," "Punch," "Curaçoa"—all with the qualification "Alcohol-free." One sees them displayed in every store, but never sold! Not even in the interests of social investigation did I feel equal to trying any.

The usual drink of the Finlander at table is milk, or a beer which is non-alcoholic. This beer has almost the taste of lager beer at first; it has almost the appearance of lager, too, but it is like the "vegetable turkey" or the "nuttose beefsteak" with which the vegetarian seeks to placate his carnivorous memories—a fraud. But it has the advantage that usually you drink only one small bottle at a meal. You are rarely inclined to drink another except in the case of a genuine thirst. It appears to be made of very much the same constituents as lager, but with the process of fermentation checked. I dare say that the experiment of adding a little yeast to a bottle and allowing it to ripen would give something really alarming in the way of a drink. It is a popular local experiment; I did not venture on it.

Following the American example, the Finn attempts a wide range of fruit drinks. He is rather handicapped in this by the fact that most fruits are dear. Excellent tea in the Russian fashion, served with a slice of lemon and sugar, can be obtained almost everywhere. This tea is really good, and can be recommended as a mildly stimulating drink for the tourist.

Coffee in Finland suffers from the fact that it is only made of coffee to a very small extent. The same may be said of the ordinary coffee in France,

or any other continental country. In England you get more coffee in your coffee than anywhere else in Europe. (The Englishman who sings the praise of coffee on the Continent obviously does not know what the taste of real coffee is.)

One sad disillusion was that Prohibition does *not* kill the habit of after-dinner speaking. The Finns keep that habit up. I should, before my visit to that country, have thought it not possible to imagine reasonable men, unless their nerves were a good deal deadened with alcoholic drink, tolerating the average after-dinner speaker ; that they would surely carve him to pieces with table-knives. I imagined that the speech of fulsome eulogy of "our guest here to-night" would have, on absolutely sober men, the effect that, according to Petronius, a Roman got from tickling his throat with a flamingo feather or reading the latest poem by Nero. But no, even in a Prohibition country, after-dinner speaking survives. Evidently it is an ineradicable human vice.

A pathetic memory of mine is of a very gallant British General—a General whose courage was almost fantastic in his idealism and self-sacrifice, a General who ultimately gave up his life after risking it a hundred times—whose great ambition was to be able to get up after dinner and, "unaccustomed as I am to public speaking, gentlemen, I feel I

must make a few remarks. . . ." He had all the qualities of heroism, and he sought that inane fluency of speech which enables a man to say nothing in many words.

Let me hasten to add, in fairness to my Finn friends whom I have heard make after-dinner speeches, that perhaps their speeches were really good ones and had every right to be delivered. I cannot say. I do not understand either Finnish or Swedish.

CHAPTER XII

FINLAND'S FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC SYSTEM

FINLAND has a balanced budget, a stabilized exchange, a currency based on gold, and a public debt so small that the interest earned by revenue-producing State property (such as railways) is greater than the interest payable on the debt. Fortunate country, to be envied by almost every land in the world in this regard. In the attaining to this happy position Finland owes something to good fortune, but more to those faculties of prudence and skilful management to which one must be always calling attention in referring to this country.

Where good fortune came in was that Finland's position as a Grand Duchy, nominally dependent on Russia, but able to assert by a stubborn pacific resistance an almost complete independence, left the country during the World War practically a neutral. There was no fleet nor army to maintain; no war debts to incur. True, some loss was sustained by the necessity on the part of the Finnish banks to accept the rouble currency of Russia; and during the brief War of Independence. But

these losses were small compared with those suffered by belligerent countries.

But, making due allowance for the luck of that, Finland chiefly owes her sound financial and economic position to the national characteristics of thrift, prudence, and good management. The chief bankers and the chief business men of the country struck me as being singularly able men, possessing in the highest degree that quality which, in English, is known as "common sense," apparently because it is so uncommon. I had the pleasure whilst I was in Helsingfors of meeting more than once Mr. Rytty, who, as Governor of the Bank of Finland, is the chief financial magnate of the country, and was impressed (as I hear the banking chiefs of other European countries are impressed) by the clear certainty of his mind.

Historically, Finland banking dates back to the eighteenth century, when the country was still under the suzerainty of Sweden, and there was founded then a Finnish Joint Stock Bank. That closed its doors on the outbreak of hostilities with Russia in 1808, and more than half a century elapsed before a new Joint Stock Bank was established—the Foreningsbanken in Finland, founded in 1862. Although no bank law existed, the new bank was subject to State control. Administration was controlled by a representative appointed by

the Government, who had to be present at the meetings of shareholders and of the management, and had the right, in case he considered it desirable, of auditing the cash and accounting of the bank.

The first bank law was passed in Finland in 1866. By this law the supreme control of banks was put in the hands of the Government, which entrusted detailed inspection to public officials appointed by the Government for each bank. These were in most cases State officials. A weak point in the system was that there was no uniformity in control. Each public representative carried out his duties according to his own methods, and without any reference to the other representatives. Thus the control was not always effective. A Bank Law Committee of 1884 proposed that the public representatives should be replaced by a special State functionary. A Committee in 1896 expressed the same opinion. Neither proposal, however, led to any result. It was only after the World War, when Finland had won full independence, that the matter was dealt with.

The Bank of Finland, the State Bank, is organized on very much the same lines as the Bank of England. It was established in 1811, not long after Finland had come under the domination of Russia, and is thus one of the oldest existing Central Banks in Europe. At first the Bank of

Finland was only empowered to issue notes in roubles, but when Finland obtained its own coinage in 1860 the Bank issued notes in Finnish marks.

In 1868 the Bank was placed under the guarantee and the supervision of the Government of Finland. But it is managed as an independent bank, with freedom of action within the limits fixed by law. Since 1886 the Bank of Finland has had the monopoly of issuing notes. In the year 1877 the gold standard was adopted and was maintained until 1914. It was restored in 1926.

The Bank of Finland undertakes most branches of banking business, but does not accept deposits bearing interest nor issue of scrip. It is administered by a Board of Directors the members of which are appointed by the President of the Republic on the advice of the Bank Supervisors appointed by the Diet.

There are in all nineteen Joint Stock Banks in Finland with 466 branch offices. For mortgage business in town and country there are six Mortgage Banks; there are 467 Savings Banks and 1,170 Co-operative Credit Societies.

The war and post-war periods presented, of course, great difficulties to the banks of Finland (they numbered thirteen in 1913 and increased in number during the war). The Russian revolution involved the confiscation of property and of cash

balances held in Russia, and the loss of the Russian market (which had been the chief export market) disturbed business greatly. Further, there was a heavy call for funds to finance the country's purchases of food and raw materials from abroad. The position had to be met by inflation. The Finnish mark (which had been equal in value to the French franc) fell from 25 to the £ sterling to 300 to the £ sterling, or over 80 to the American dollar (at this time the £ sterling was not on a parity with the American dollar). Since then the mark has been stabilized on a gold basis at 193 Finnish marks to the £ sterling and 39·70 to the American dollar.

The restoration of the gold standard in Finland so soon after the disturbance of economic and financial equilibrium due to the World War was a masterly effort in prudent finance, which may be commended to the notice of some European countries which plead for remission of debts on the ground of poverty. Finland came out of the World War with no very great debts certainly, but bitterly poor in the sense that it was faced with the total loss of its chief export market and with the necessity of importing great quantities of foodstuffs and of material for the reconstruction of its industrial life. But it set itself on the same stern path as Great Britain by levying high taxation. Far

more conspicuously than Great Britain it insisted on rigid national economy. Thus it balanced its budget. Then it met honestly all its foreign obligations (with Great Britain it was the first country to fund its debt to the United States). Then it set to work to restore the gold standard. In November, 1925, the Trustees elected by the Diet for the supervision of the Bank of Finland appointed a Committee to deal with this question. This Committee (on which were represented the Bank of Finland, the Joint Stock Banks, and important business interests) published its report the next April.

That report advised that no depreciation of the mark at its then level should be allowed in any case, but likewise no appreciation of the mark should be attempted. The report admitted the justice of a claim for appreciation on the part of those who had suffered by the depreciation of the mark ; but, as appreciation could not be effected without fresh injustice being done in other quarters and without stagnation in industry, labour complications, etc., it held that a reversion of the currency system of Finland to the gold standard should be carried out on the basis of the actual gold value of the mark at that time.

Mr. Rytti, Governor of the Bank of Finland, points out in this regard, that the loss suffered by

the depreciation of the mark was very largely counterbalanced by the change in the value of goods since then.

The Committee went on to point out that the necessary conditions for a restoration of the gold standard were already, for the most part, in existence; but it stressed the need for a cautious economic policy and for the continued maintenance of balance in national income and expenditure—*i.e.*, no changes that might injure production to be made in Customs, taxation, and other economic policies; the present Government deposits in the commercial banks to be withdrawn gradually; restraint to be shown in the apportionment of State and municipal revenue, not only in matters of current expenditure, but also with regard to investments of a productive nature where the benefit to production was indirect or likely to make itself felt in a distant future (railways, harbour extensions, etc.); banks to exercise restraint in granting credit, particularly in respect of new enterprises and in cases where the benefit to production was small or non-existent.

If those conditions—which in effect meant a continuance of private and public economy—were observed, the Committee were confident that Finland could restore the gold standard. It proposed one further condition, that the necessary stability had been achieved in the value of gold

itself. This the Committee would regard as having been attained when a free gold market had been restored in England.

Now the monetary system of Finland is founded on gold as the sole measure of value. Gold coins are struck of 100 and 200 marks' value (roughly 10s. and £1). Small change is of one mark, half-mark and quarter-mark, and is of nickelled brass. Besides gold coin, notes of the Bank of Finland are legal tender.

The amount of the Bank's notes in circulation may not exceed 1,000 million marks above the total amount of the gold reserve and the undisputed balances with the foreign correspondents of the Bank. The gold reserve of the Bank is maintained at not less than 300 million marks. The Bank is obliged to redeem its notes on demand either in Finnish gold coin, or in gold ingots, or in cheques made out in foreign gold currency.

Finland's first foreign loan was floated at Frankfurt (1862). Subsequent loans were chiefly with German financial houses until 1889; then the French money-market was chiefly favoured. The first Finland loan on the British market was in 1909. Before the war Finland's credit was excellent in Europe. After the war naturally there was difficulty in obtaining credits, but British houses

showed a wise confidence in Finland's integrity and power of recovery, and short-term credits were granted by them to the extent at one time of about £10,000,000. I found everywhere in Finland generous recognition of this British confidence in their country, and a tendency to look chiefly to Great Britain and the United States as "guides and friends" for the future. In 1923 Finland first entered the American money-market, and there have been since several State, municipal, and industrial loans for small amounts floated in New York. Finland's credit now stands in high repute in the world.

The total national debt on a dollar basis is now 91,900,000 dollars—about £19,000,000. The total State revenue is about £12,500,000 a year. Imports and exports in 1925 showed a slight balance of trade in favour of Finland. The chief imports are grain, cotton, wool, coal. The chief exports are timber, timber products (paper, matches, etc.), fresh meat, butter, cheese. The chief imports are from Germany, Great Britain, and the United States in that order. The chief exports are to Great Britain (which takes about 40 per cent. of Finland's exports), Germany, France, and Holland.

The total of the national debt is more than met by the total of the national property. Finland, as

a state, is a large holder of landed property, almost the sole owner of railways, and a partner to a considerable extent in various industrial undertakings. In 1922 a detailed inventory was taken of State property. This showed that the value of productive property so held was about £40,000,000, and of unproductive property about £20,000,000. (This second class of property need not be taken into account in a study of the economic position of the country.)

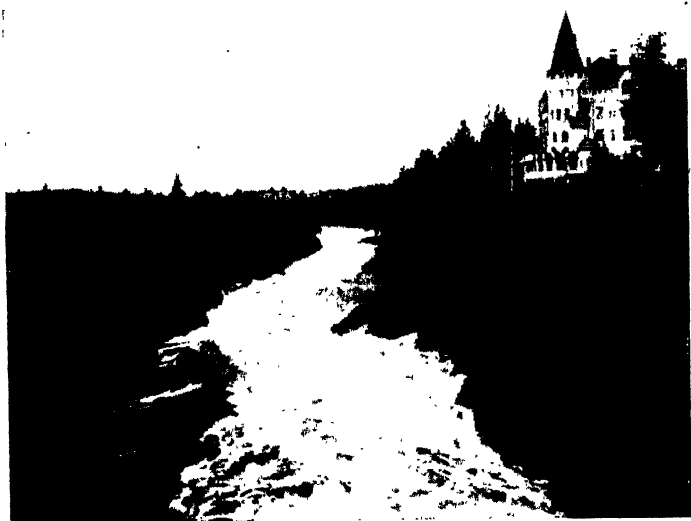
The chief item in revenue-producing State property is the State railways. There are very few privately owned railways in the country; the length of State-owned track at the end of 1922 was 2,542 miles. The next greatest cash-value in the State inventory is represented by the State forests, valued at £11,000,000. The total area of the State forests is 53,300 square miles, or more than one-third of the whole area of the country. Also the State owns a large number of farms which formerly were held for the most part by military and civil officials as part salary or in lieu of it. The majority of these farms are situated in the best agricultural districts. Their total area amounts to about 667,000 acres. Further, the State owns certain industrial enterprises—saw-mills, factories for the manufacture of alcohol, yeast, superphosphate, and sulphuric acid. Finally, there are Government

investments in the form of shares in a number of industrial enterprises.

The capital value of the railways is calculated at about £20,000,000. But in 1924 the *net* income, after paying expenses, of the railways was not sufficient to pay a fair interest on this amount. It was about £400,000, leaving a deficit of about £400,000 if interest were calculated at 4 per cent. The railway figures for 1923 were much better, as the net income then was about £600,000. Apparently in 1924 traffic expenses climbed up steeply. It has to be remembered, of course, that many of Finland's railway lines are developmental ones and are not expected to pay in their first stages. (On the basis of railroad mileage per 10,000 inhabitants Finland stands ahead of Great Britain, Belgium, Germany, and Austria-Hungary.) But the national administration should watch carefully the matter of railway expenditure. Many another state in the world has found a national railway system a serious source of waste. There are two chief dangers of leakage. One is from political influence leading to the construction of lines which can never pay, though they are, of course, of great comfort to the constituents of the politicians who "log-roll" them. The other is the influence of the huge railway vote in a democracy towards forcing up wages and modifying conditions



AN ICE-BREAKER IN THE GULF OF FINLAND



THE IMATRA STATE HOTEL

of labour so that expenditure goes beyond the economic point. In my opinion, a State railway system is never likely to be conducted satisfactorily unless it is put in the hands of an absolutely independent Board of Directors with the freedom from political influence of a Bench of Judges.

The Budget of Finland is divided into two parts: one for ordinary revenue and expenditure, the other for extraordinary. The former embraces the regular, annually recurring revenue or expenditure, while those items which it is intended to include in the Budget only once are referred to the extraordinary Budget. A great part of the latter is consequently made up of expenditure for capital investment, such as construction of new railways, extension of railway rolling stock, expenditure on State manufacturing concerns, and so forth.

Examining the 1926 extraordinary Budget, I saw that it provided for 569 millions of marks. I should say that rather more than half of this was for revenue-producing works or for repayment of debt: the rest mainly for permanent works, but not reproductive works.

The Customs tariff rates fluctuate in Finland. There is nothing which can be called a fixed tariff. Year by year it undergoes alteration to rectify more obvious irregularities. General increases are sanc-

tioned by the Government annually receiving special permission to make a fourfold increase in the rates on certain items. A proposal for a new tariff, drafted on as uniform a base as possible, has recently been worked out by the Customs Board. It will take some trouble to reconcile conflicting agrarian and industrial interests. There are certain export duties (*e.g.*, a heavy one on match splint) designed to encourage the local manufacture of Finnish matches for export, to which one party objects strongly. A difficulty about passing a settled Customs tariff is that, whilst a tariff rate valid for one year only can be passed by a simple majority of the Diet, a permanent tariff rate must have the approval of at least half the full membership of the Diet.

Industry is organized on a system which has some German, some American, and some British features. It is usual for the Joint Stock Companies engaged in a particular branch of industry to be linked together to secure economy of production and to avoid wasteful price-cutting. Since the State is often a shareholder and almost always is in the position of having some power of control, the interests of the nation as a whole are studied as well as the interests of private shareholders. Finland, in effect, seems to be working on a sound com-

promise arrangement between Individualism and Socialism to secure the advantages of private ownership with a reasonable check in the community's interest.

In 1924 the Diet granted a sum for an export credits scheme, and in 1925 passed a law for the organization of State export credits. According to this law the Government is authorized during 1926-1929 to grant, where sales of Finnish industrial or agricultural products have been made abroad, Government guarantees up to a maximum of 75 per cent. of the selling price, not for longer periods than six months and against sufficient security. The total amount of such guarantees can mount to £250,000.

Finland has friendly trade relations with Russia, and Mr. Pulkinnen, the Minister for Commerce and Industry, expressed to me great confidence that these would develop extensively in the future. At present imports from Russia are small in extent, but exports to Russia are large and growing—agricultural machinery, cellulose, etc. Trade with Russia is mostly on a cash basis, but some is done on a basis of three or six months' credits arranged through the Russian Commercial Bureau in Helsingfors. At the end of 1925, I learned, all obligations on the part of Russia had been punc-

tually met. It seems reasonable to forecast that in the early stages of that reconstruction of Russia which all the world hopes for, Finland will be in a good position to supply that country with much of its needs in manufactured goods.

CHAPTER XIII

FINLAND FOR THE TOURIST

THE best method of travelling to Finland, in my opinion, is by the direct sea route from Hull to Helsingfors. But there are many attractive routes for those who do not like so long a sea voyage. The principal of these from London are :

By train to Harwich; by boat to Esbjerg, Denmark (twenty-four hours); thence by train and train ferry to Copenhagen and Stockholm; by boat from Stockholm to Abo; by train to Helsingfors. This route gives a good mixture of train and boat travelling. In the summer the only chance of rough water is between Harwich and Esbjerg. The traveller sees two important and interesting northern capitals, and something of the Baltic archipelago. The route may be varied by taking boat from Stockholm to Helsingfors, instead of Abo, gaining splendid views of the archipelago approaching Helsingfors; or by taking the hydro-plane service from Stockholm, either to Abo or Helsingfors. The flying boats are comfortable and speedy.

If the least amount of sea travelling is desired,

cross the English Channel either to Ostend or Calais, take train to Copenhagen, train and train ferry to Stockholm, boat to Abo, train to Helsingfors. Or take train to Berlin, thence to Stettin, and by boat to Helsingfors. Or take train to Reval (in Esthonia), and go thence by boat or hydroplane to Helsingfors (this route is not recommended; it involves crossing some troublesome frontiers). Or, finally, if the traveller really hates the sea and loves meeting Custom House officers, he may voyage Dover-Calais-Leningrad (Russia), then to Helsingfors by rail via Wiborg. This last route would mean only one hour's sea travel, but would involve a fine collection of passport and Custom House troubles, as the traveller would pass through France, Belgium, Germany, the Danzig corridor, Poland, Russia, and finally Finland.

By any route a passport is essential with the Finnish Consular visa. But visas are not necessary for France, Belgium, Denmark, or Sweden. They are necessary for Germany, the Danzig corridor, Poland, and Russia, if those territories are traversed.

For summer travel, clothing suitable for Great Britain is quite suitable for Finland, where the summer climate is never cold, unless the traveller is going to the far north, where the nights are apt to be cold (except in July and early August). There is a good deal of talk about mosquitoes

in Finland, and I believe they can be troublesome in the fishing districts in July. But, in my experience, no mosquito precautions are necessary. I brought a supply of oil of lavender, but had no occasion to use it. A good supply of stout shoes is necessary, as the going is usually somewhat hard; the best degree of comfort is secured by rubber-soled shoes. The sun is strong, and those who are afraid of tan will bring broad-rimmed hats or sunshades. In every town there are well-stocked shops, and the traveller can buy locally anything he may have forgotten. Alcoholic liquors of good quality cannot be purchased except at prohibitive prices, but a tourist who could claim that some alcoholic stimulant was necessary would have no difficulty, I believe, in getting in Finland a doctor's certificate which would allow of him buying wine, etc., at the chemists' shops at reasonable prices.

Railway travelling in Finland is very comfortable and reasonably cheap. It is best to book second class (for first class you pay double second-class fares). You may engage sleeping-car accommodation with a second-class ticket, and you will travel in the same sleeping coach, the only difference being that the first-class passengers (if there are any) have the middle section of the coach. The restaurant cars are excellent and are available to first- and second-class passengers. Where railways are not available,

steamboats provide the best of accommodation, with restaurant and sleeping facilities. On routes where there are neither railways nor waterways, motor coaches serve the traffic. The traveller who wishes to penetrate to the Arctic Ocean must travel part of the way by motor coach.

In the towns there are first-class motor cabs and horse cabs and also good services of ferry boats.

Finland has not attracted many winter tourists as yet; but all winter sports, sleighing, ski-ing, skating, have the best facilities. There is never any lack of smooth ice and of snow. The winter climate is usually marked by clear skies and an absence of wind. Fog is unknown. Hotels and houses are well warmed, and there is no hardship to be feared by the winter tourist. Ice-breakers ensure a clear sea passage between Stockholm and Abo. Winter travellers should take their passage via Stockholm.

The hotels are reasonable in their charges and very comfortable, perfectly clean and well provided with baths. In the far north accommodation is simple, but reasonably comfortable if the traveller is content to keep to the main routes. The Tourist Association provides guest-houses in most centres. Remote fishing and hunting centres can offer only rough accommodation. Those who contemplate a visit to Finland can obtain all information from the

Tourist Association, 21, Norra Esplanadgatan, Helsingfors, regarding hotels, railway and ferry and motor routes.

There are various tours arranged by the Tourist Association. One covering eight days will take the traveller through the river and lake scenery of south-eastern and central Finland, then west as far north as Uleaborg on the Gulf of Bothnia, and then back to Helsingfors. This can be carried out for about £8—all fares, sleeping cars, hotel accommodation, etc., included. Another tour of eleven days covers the same area with the addition of far-eastern Finland. The cost would be about £11, all included. Yet another arranged tour will take the traveller right to Petsamo on the Arctic Sea, with the opportunity of seeing “the land of the midnight sun.”

A great number of British tourists are attracted to Finland by the fishing. Fishermen should travel first to Kajana, and after spending a few days there, continue the journey to Vaala. The latter place is undoubtedly the finest fishing ground within easy reach of Helsingfors. As a general rule, one may reckon upon good sport in July and August. At Kajana the fishing grounds, extending over two miles, are open from June to September under the management of the civic authorities, who issue permits for angling.

Grayling, trout, perch, bream, roach and pike are found in the Kajana River. The season for grayling and trout usually begins June 20 to 26, when the spring floods commence to fall. Angling at Kajana can be carried on from land, though sometimes wading is useful. The same flies are used as on the English and Scotch rivers. Among the artificial baits the little "Devon minnow" has been found most successful. The tourist hotel at Kajana is clean and comfortable.

Vaala, on the Ulea River, fifty miles from Kajana and four hours' passage by steamer, is renowned for sea-trout and grayling fishing. The fishing season begins there one or two weeks later than in Kajana for grayling and trout. The real season begins in August. The fishing is from boats. The river is full of salmon, but, unfortunately, lately the rod fishing has been spoilt by extensive netting. Uutela, on the left side of the river, a little below Vaala, is better for salmon. A fishing ticket available for the whole season costs about £2 10s., and boatmen charge about 10s. per day.

Salmon and trout are abundant in the Lapland rivers, which are free to anglers, but anglers must be prepared to rough it, by lodging with the peasants or camping out. There is excellent fishing at Boris Gleb on the shores of the Arctic Ocean. A tourist route by motor omnibus and motor-boat

from Rovaniemi, the northernmost railway station in Finland, has been arranged, and tourist inns *en route* are under the management of the Tourist Association of Finland, who have also a guest-house at Boris Gleb. At Boris Gleb salt-water salmon are abundant, the best fishing being from about June 20, and it goes on into August. Fishing is either from bank or from boat.

Finland has yet to be discovered by the yachtsmen of Europe. It has a vigorous yachting life of its own, but its waters are practically unknown to the cruising yachts from Western and Southern Europe. Yet it would be difficult to exaggerate the charm to yachtsmen of the Finnish archipelagos—the clear, calm, almost tideless sea; the bright skies, the beautiful scenery of the islands, the abundance of sheltered coves. The Finnish yachtsmen are very daring and skilful, and their waters give them splendid opportunities for enjoying the delicacies of the sport. Channels between the islands are sometimes very narrow lanes of water between fairly steep hills, and it takes nice judgment of the wind to get through; but as the sea is almost tideless dangerous currents do not exist, and the water is usually deep enough for a small boat right up to the edge of land. It is a very pretty sight to see a man, who knows the draught and the sailing capacity of his boat, threading his way through the

maze of sea and land. A lazier way of seeing the archipelago is by motor-boat or steamboat. There is an excellent yachting club at Helsingfors, which would doubtless give information to members of foreign clubs ; or the intending visitor can apply to the Tourist Association, Helsingfors.

Most of the cities and towns of Finland are worthy of a visit. Of the capital I have already written something (Chapter III.). Some additional notes :

Helsingfors was founded by Gustavus Vasa of Sweden in 1550, three miles from the present site of the town, but was rebuilt in its present position in 1639 and became the capital of Finland in 1812. The centre of the city, Senate Square, is flanked by fine buildings in the classical style. On one side is the splendid Senate House designed in 1822 by Engel, "the Father of Finnish architecture." Opposite is the University, also the work of Engel, and on the north side the huge Lutheran Church of St. Nicholas, reached by a flight of forty-five steps. This church on its hill dominates the whole city. There is an interesting castle which, in the old days, was the strongest point in the Baltic Sea. It held out against a British-French naval attack during the Crimean War.

The tourist in Finland will find that Helsingfors is not merely a show place which is kept bright and

clean, as are the ceremonial quarters of Paris, and that back of Helsingfors the land reverts to squalidness. The whole country keeps up an almost incredible degree of cleanliness and tidiness. The small towns are perfectly kept as regards their streets and their public buildings. Ports like Abo and Hango have no slum quarters, have none of the murk which distinguishes the wharf areas in almost every other part of the world. They are as well kept as Monaco, and have their charming little parks with lawns and flower beds.

Comparing Hango, which is in part a commercial port and in part a seaside resort, with, say, Ostend, one remembers Ostend as beautifully clean and decorated in its show quarters, but with some quarters which are quite otherwise. Hango is spick-and-span from one end to the other. It is an admirable lesson in public cleanliness to see how the beaches are kept free from all litter and all seaweed, and the gravelled streets carefully cleansed and raked over. Every street—even the poorest—is a show street.

Hango is well worth a visit from those who “collect” sea beaches and who already know the British coast, the Belgian coast, Normandy and Brittany, the Mediterranean beaches, and the Lido. It has a singular charm of character. The town is bright and gay, with a good casino. The beach is

large, with good sand and very bright bathing huts. There are no tides to consider, and any hour is bathing hour. The surrounding pine forest is beautiful and invigorating. The water is somewhat warmer than on the British and Belgian coasts, but not as warm as on the Lido ; not very salt, but salt enough. Bathers spend most of the day on the beach alternately swimming and sun bathing or doing physical culture exercises. One may walk away from the main beach along sands for many miles and come to delightful solitudes. There are several first-class hotels, and some good massage and gymnastic centres. Hango is a favourite resort of the Swedes in summer. Its season is in July and August. At other times it is a great export centre, as its harbour is ice-free all the year.

Abo, the old capital, is another very pleasant town. One could never imagine that it is a great commercial port. Every yard of the harbour frontage would compare favourably for cleanliness with the sea-front of a fashionable English watering place. It is situated on the River Aurajoki near its mouth in the Baltic Sea, 170 miles west of Helsingfors by rail. In 1640 a University was founded in Abo, and was transferred to Helsingfors after the great fire of 1827. A new University was founded in 1918, with Swedish—and in 1922 another with Finnish—as the language of instruction. It

contains many schools, museums and libraries. Founded towards the end of the eleventh century, it was the capital of the country until 1812.

Abo has an ancient cathedral (date about 1300), which is a very interesting example of early northern church architecture. Its situation, in a fine park by the river, is effective to show its square brick tower and lines devoid of ornamentation, which strike a note of rugged strength. The Government is converting the cathedral, Finland's most ancient temple of worship, into a national shrine and restoring its old mural decorations.

Another historic Abo building is the castle (twelfth century), severely plain with massive walls. In ancient times it was considered the key to Finland. The guides show the visitor a great central hall, galleried to the roof, where it was the custom of the reigning chief to hurl his captives to death from the topmost balcony, and the room where, in 1859, King John of Sweden imprisoned his brother Eric.

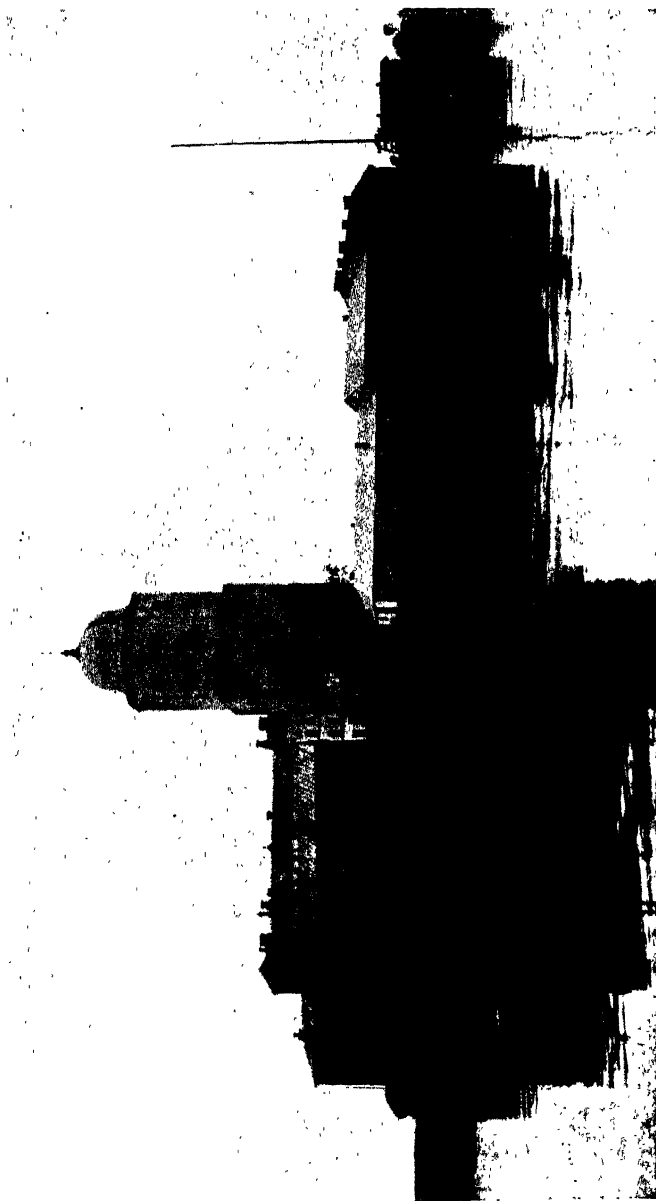
Wiborg, an old fortress town near the Russian frontier, is full of historic interest. It has an ancient castle built by the Swedish Government in 1298. This castle constituted the seat of Swedish power in the eastern part of the country, and was the principal bulwark against the armies of Russia. In 1710 Peter the Great captured this stronghold, and later the province of Wiborg was

ceded to Russia. The castle is on a tiny island: from its tower there is a splendid view.

Another interesting castle at Wiborg is known as "Fat Catherine," and has been converted into a restaurant—one of the most interesting restaurants of Europe, I thought when I dined there. The medieval character of the building has been carefully preserved, including the mural decorations, and the furniture is in keeping with the building.

Tammerfors in west Finland, on rapids connecting the lakes of Nasijarvi and Pyhajarvi, is a manufacturing town of note ("Finland's Manchester"). The most important industries are spinning, weaving, leather, shoe and paper manufacture. The city was founded in 1779. Like all Finnish towns it is spotlessly clean and beautifully adorned with parks. (Manufacturers are not allowed to cultivate ugliness in this country.) Those who are interested in industrial welfare in other countries might well organize pilgrimages to this as "a seat of learning," where they can be taught how it is possible to be tidy and clean though busy.

At one side of the city a big forest preserve overlooking an expanse of island-dotted lake and wooded shore serves as a public park. A splendid esplanade with rows of lime trees runs through the town, and a river flows from one lake into another in a series of cascades through the heart of the business district.



WIBORG CASTLE

Other interesting Finnish towns are:

Kotka, on an island in the Gulf of Finland at the mouth of the Kymijoki River. The town has an excellent harbour which is open for navigation ten months in the year. Timber goods are exported, mostly to England.

Kuopio, beautifully situated on the shore of Kallavesi Lake; near to the town is the high hill of Puijo, from which is a fine view over the lake and its countless islands.

Uleaborg, a seaport at the mouth of the Oulujoki River, has large leather and shoe factories. Founded in 1605; in 1854 an English flotilla bombarded the town, causing a great deal of damage.

Tourists must not expect any big-game shooting in Finland. The wild animals which were formerly very numerous have become rare or died out with the spread of civilization. The bear now remains only in the uninhabited regions of Lapland in the north and on the border, and is rare there. The wolf is seldom seen except in the far north and the far east. There it still, sometimes, does damage to the herds of reindeer. As lately as 1870-1880 the lynx was so common that it was shot in almost every parish south of the Polar circle, but it has now greatly decreased. Wild reindeer are not found in Finland at all. The elk, which had almost disap-

peared by the middle of last century, is now protected and has considerably increased.

Those who wish for sport with a considerable spice of danger had best go to Finland in the winter and sample the "winter fishing," of which Mr. John Arnold Barrie has written a vivid account. In the winter thick ice covers all the "fjords" and sounds, and the ice sometimes extends across the Gulf of Finland to the Esthonian shore. This ice, as a rule, is like that of a calm lake. The problem is to catch the fish under the ice. The method is to push out on the ice-field and to catch the fish in nets which are sunk under the open ice-field. The fishermen follow the shoals wherever they go. Four or six men form a little company, and their outfit comprises a set of nets, a sledge, some ice axes, two spades with short handles, and a *putka* or small hut made of boards and lined inside with felt and paper, and containing a wooden platform for beds, an iron stove, and an iron kettle.

As soon as the fjord nearest to the shore is frozen over with ice, strong enough to carry, the work begins. An opening is chopped in the ice and is sheltered by a temporary tent against the cold winds. On each side of this large opening two small holes are made at a distance of 60 to 100 feet from each other. The net is sunk in the large opening and the lines are stretched from one

opening to another by means of long poles. With the aid of the lines one end of the net is hauled out of the water and the men pick out the fish.

The ice-field gradually extends further and further out into the sea. As the best fishing is always done near to the open water, the fishermen follow the shoals and go further and further with their nets. When at a distance of ten miles from the shore the fishermen return to land and to their homes for the night. But when the distance becomes too great, the *putkas* come into use. They are transported out to the fishing places, which soon look like dwarf villages scattered over the ice plains.

Sometimes a blinding blizzard sweeps over the ice, so that all tracks are obliterated and a man can see only a few steps in front of him. Then it is impossible for the fishermen to find their way back from the nets to the hut, and they are forced to tramp about in the snowstorm the whole night; to lie down and rest would mean death. Dangers grow in proportion to the distance from the shore. The ice may seem strong enough to carry all the small villages, with horses, men and huts, but can never be wholly depended upon. Great cracks and fissures may appear quite suddenly. Then a field of ice is separated from the main ice and drifts out towards the open sea, carry-

ing with it the whole village. If the drifting field is large there is no immediate danger, but an isolated group on a small ice-field may go through dreadful experiences of hunger and cold before they again come into contact with land and firm ice. Often the whole coast has to be alarmed and the ice-breaking steamers of the State have to be employed in searching for lost men. Isolated men have sometimes perished from starvation.

The length of the winter fishing season varies according to the severity of the winter, but it can last from the beginning of January to the end of March. Every second or third week the men pay a visit to their homes to see their relations or to get fresh provisions and to indulge in their steam bath.

The tourist will be interested to sample the Finnish national bath. On this point a word of caution. In the capital and in the big towns the chief bath establishments are very good, but they follow the Swedish and not the Finnish mode. You are steamed in a cabinet, rubbed down by vigorous *masseuses*, put in a hot bath and rubbed down again ; then have a cold douche bath. But a Finnish bath-house can be found on inquiry in every big centre, and in the country districts it is the only type of bath-house. Every village, every large farmhouse has one. The typical farm bath-house is a little log building, with no opening save

the door. Inside is a rough heap of big stones, so placed that they leave a space beneath for burning wood. A fire is kept alight for some hours to make the stones very hot. Trunks of trees are arranged round the room, providing two or three tiers of rough seats. When the stones are very hot a big pail of water and some thin birch twigs (with the leaves on if possible) are brought in. Then enter the bathers, and to give a Finn's own explanation :

“We close the door as we enter, and sit down on seats. Then one of us ladles out water on to the hot stones, and with a great deal of hissing it turns into steam. We sit on the lowest seat till we get used to the heat, and then, as soon as we can stand it, mount up higher, getting into a great sweat. With the twigs we beat each other to stir up the circulation. Then we go out and roll over two or three times in the snow or plunge into a cold stream.”

That is the national bath. You may enjoy it in the towns (with the exception of a roll in a snow-drift!) if you take care to enquire where the *Finnish* bath-house is.

A final counsel. Presuming a traveller has only a month to spare for a voyage to Finland, travelling to and from will take up a week of that; the remaining three weeks can best be

divided thus: a week in Helsingfors and its environs; a week at Hango beach; a week at Punkaharju for the lake scenery and the rapids. Travel to Finland by the direct sea route, Hull to Helsingfors; return by steamer from Helsingfors to Stockholm (through the marvellous archipelago); then to Copenhagen, and from there back to London.

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